



**SPECIAL ISSUE—25TH ANNIVERSARY OF
CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG'S 'TALKS AT
THE YENAN FORUM ON LITERATURE AND ART'**

China Reconstructs

QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG

In the world today all culture, all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines. There is in fact no such thing as art for art's sake, art that stands above classes, art that is detached from or independent of politics. Proletarian literature and art are part of the whole proletarian revolutionary cause; they are, as Lenin said, cogs and wheels in the whole revolutionary machine.

— "Talks at the Yen'an Forum on Literature and Art", May 1942

All our literature and art are for the masses of the people, and in the first place for the workers, peasants and soldiers; they are created for the workers, peasants and soldiers and are for their use.

— "Talks at the Yen'an Forum on Literature and Art", May 1942

CHINA RECONSTRUCTS

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**Long Live Chairman Mao's
Revolutionary Line
on Literature and Art!**



Chairman Mao Tse-tung
Our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman

TALKS AT THE YENAN FORUM ON LITERATURE AND ART

May 1942

MAO TSE-TUNG

INTRODUCTION

May 2, 1942

Comrades! You have been invited to this forum today to exchange ideas and examine the relationship between work in the literary and artistic fields and revolutionary work in general. Our aim is to ensure that revolutionary literature and art follow the correct path of development and provide better help to other revolutionary work in facilitating the overthrow of our national enemy and the accomplishment of the task of national liberation.

In our struggle for the liberation of the Chinese people there are various fronts, among which there are the fronts of the pen and of the gun, the cultural and the military fronts. To defeat the enemy we must rely primarily on the army with guns. But this army alone is not enough; we must also have a cultural army, which is absolutely indispensable for uniting our own ranks and defeating the enemy. Since the May 4th Movement such a cultural army has taken shape in China, and it has helped the Chinese revolution, gradually reduced the domain of China's feudal culture and of the comprador culture which serves imperialist aggression, and weakened their influence. To oppose the new culture the Chinese reactionaries can now only "pit quantity against quality". In other words, reactionaries have money, and though they can produce nothing good, they can go all out and produce in quantity. Literature and art have been an important and successful part of the cultural front since the May 4th Movement. During the ten years' civil war, the revolutionary literature and art movement grew greatly.

That movement and the revolutionary war both headed in the same general direction, but these two fraternal armies were not linked together in their practical work because the reactionaries had cut them off from each other. It is very good that since the outbreak of the War of Resistance Against Japan, more and more revolutionary writers and artists have been coming to Yen-an and our other anti-Japanese base areas. But it does not necessarily follow that, having come to the base areas, they have already integrated themselves completely with the masses of the people here. The two must be completely integrated if we are to push ahead with our revolutionary work. The purpose of our meeting today is precisely to ensure that literature and art fit well into the whole revolutionary machine as a component part, that they operate as powerful weapons for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and destroying the enemy, and that they help the people fight the enemy with one heart and one mind. What are the problems that must be solved to achieve this objective? I think they are the problems of the class stand of the writers and artists, their attitude, their audience, their work and their study.

The problem of class stand. Our stand is that of the proletariat and of the masses. For members of the Communist Party, this means keeping to the stand of the Party, keeping to Party spirit and Party policy. Are there any of our literary and art workers who are still mistaken or not clear in their understanding of this problem? I think there are. Many of our comrades have frequently departed from the correct stand.

The problem of attitude. From one's stand there follow specific attitudes towards

specific matters. For instance, is one to extol or to expose? This is a question of attitude. Which attitude is wanted? I would say both. The question is, whom are you dealing with? There are three kinds of persons, the enemy, our allies in the united front and our own people; the last are the masses and their vanguard. We need to adopt a different attitude towards each of the three. With regard to the enemy, that is, Japanese imperialism and all the other enemies of the people, the task of revolutionary writers and artists is to expose their duplicity and cruelty and at the same time to point out the inevitability of their defeat, so as to encourage the anti-Japanese army and people to fight staunchly with one heart and one mind for their overthrow. With regard to our different allies in the united front, our attitude should be one of both alliance and criticism, and there should be different kinds of alliance and different kinds of criticism. We support them in their resistance to Japan and praise them for any achievement. But if they are not active in the War of Resistance, we should criticize them. If anyone opposes the Communist Party and the people and keeps moving down the path of reaction, we will firmly oppose him. As for the masses of the people, their toil and their struggle, their army and their Party, we should certainly praise them. The people, too, have their shortcomings. Among the proletariat many retain petty-bourgeois ideas, while both the peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie have backward ideas; these are burdens hampering them in their struggle. We should be patient and spend a long time in educating them and helping them to get these loads off their backs and combat their own shortcomings and errors, so that they can advance with great strides. They have remoulded themselves in struggle or are doing so, and our literature and art should depict this process. As long as they do not persist in their errors, we should not dwell on their negative side and consequently make the mistake of ridiculing them or, worse still, of being hostile to them. Our writings should help them to unite, to make progress, to press ahead with one heart and one mind, to discard what is backward and develop what is revolutionary, and should certainly not do the opposite.

The problem of audience, *i.e.*, the people for whom our works of literature and art are produced. In the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region and the anti-Japanese base areas of northern and central China, this problem differs from that in the Kuomintang areas, and differs still more from that in Shanghai before the War of Resistance. In

the Shanghai period, the audience for works of revolutionary literature and art consisted mainly of a section of the students, office workers and shop assistants. After the outbreak of the War of Resistance the audience in the Kuomintang areas became somewhat wider, but it still consisted mainly of the same kind of people because the government there prevented the workers, peasants and soldiers from having access to revolutionary literature and art. In our base areas the situation is entirely different. Here the audience for works of literature and art consists of workers, peasants, soldiers and revolutionary cadres. There are students in the base areas, too, but they are different from students of the old type; they are either former or future cadres. The cadres of all types, fighters in the army, workers in the factories and peasants in the villages all want to read books and newspapers once they become literate, and those who are illiterate want to see plays and operas, look at drawings and paintings, sing songs and hear music; they are the audience for our works of literature and art. Take the cadres alone. Do not think they are few; they far outnumber the readers of any book published in the Kuomintang areas. There, an edition usually runs to only 2,000 copies, and even three editions add up to only 6,000; but as for the cadres in the base areas, in Yen-an alone there are more than 10,000 who read books. Many of them, moreover, are tempered revolutionaries of long standing, who have come from all parts of the country and will go out to work in different places, so it is very important to do educational work among them. Our literary and art workers must do a good job in this respect.

Since the audience for our literature and art consists of workers, peasants and soldiers and of their cadres, the problem arises of understanding them and knowing them well. A great deal of work has to be done in order to understand them and know them well, to understand and know well all the different kinds of people and phenomena in the Party and government organizations, in the villages and factories and in the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies. Our writers and artists have their literary and art work to do, but their primary task is to understand people and know them well. In this regard, how have matters stood with our writers and artists? I would say they have been lacking in knowledge and understanding; they have been like "a hero with no place to display his prowess". What does lacking in knowledge mean? Not knowing people well. The writers and artists do not have a good knowledge either of those

whom they describe or of their audience; indeed they may hardly know them at all. They do not know the workers or peasants or soldiers well, and do not know the cadres well either. What does lacking in understanding mean? Not understanding the language, that is, not being familiar with the rich, lively language of the masses. Since many writers and artists stand aloof from the masses and lead empty lives, naturally they are unfamiliar with the language of the people. Accordingly, their works are not only insipid in language but often contain nondescript expressions of their own coining which run counter to popular usage. Many comrades like to talk about "a mass style". But what does it really mean? It means that the thoughts and feelings of our writers and artists should be fused with those of the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. To achieve this fusion, they should conscientiously learn the language of the masses. How can you talk of literary and artistic creation if you find the very language of the masses largely incomprehensible? By "a hero with no place to display his prowess", we mean that your collection of great truths is not appreciated by the masses. The more you put on the airs of a veteran before the masses and play the "hero", the more you try to peddle such stuff to the masses, the less likely they are to accept it. If you want the masses to understand you, if you want to be one with the masses, you must make up your mind to undergo a long and even painful process of tempering. Here I might mention the experience of how my own feelings changed. I began life as a student and at school acquired the ways of a student; I then used to feel it undignified to do even a little manual labour, such as carrying my own luggage in the presence of my fellow students, who were incapable of carrying anything, either on their shoulders or in their hands. At that time I felt that intellectuals were the only clean people in the world, while in comparison workers and peasants were dirty. I did not mind wearing the clothes of other intellectuals, believing them clean, but I would not put on clothes belonging to a worker or peasant, believing them dirty. But after I became a revolutionary and lived with workers and peasants and with soldiers of the revolutionary army, I gradually came to know them well, and they gradually came to know me well too. It was then, and only then, that I fundamentally changed the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois feelings implanted in me in the bourgeois schools. I came to feel that compared with the workers and peasants the unremoulded intellectuals were not clean and that, in the last

analysis, the workers and peasants were the cleanest people and, even though their hands were soiled and their feet smeared with cowdung, they were really cleaner than the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois intellectuals. That is what is meant by a change in feelings, a change from one class to another. If our writers and artists who come from the intelligentsia want their works to be well received by the masses, they must change and remould their thinking and their feelings. Without such a change, without such remoulding, they can do nothing well and will be misfits.

The last problem is study, by which I mean the study of Marxism-Leninism and of society. Anyone who considers himself a revolutionary Marxist writer, and especially any writer who is a member of the Communist Party, must have a knowledge of Marxism-Leninism. At present, however, some comrades are lacking in the basic concepts of Marxism. For instance, it is a basic Marxist concept that being determines consciousness, that the objective realities of class struggle and national struggle determine our thoughts and feelings. But some of our comrades turn this upside down and maintain that everything ought to start from "love". Now as for love, in a class society there can be only class love; but these comrades are seeking a love transcending classes, love in the abstract and also freedom in the abstract, truth in the abstract, human nature in the abstract, etc. This shows that they have been very deeply influenced by the bourgeoisie. They should thoroughly rid themselves of this influence and modestly study Marxism-Leninism. It is right for writers and artists to study literary and artistic creation, but the science of Marxism-Leninism must be studied by all revolutionaries, writers and artists not excepted. Writers and artists should study society, that is to say, should study the various classes in society, their mutual relations and respective conditions, their physiognomy and their psychology. Only when we grasp all this clearly can we have a literature and art that is rich in content and correct in orientation.

I am merely raising these problems today by way of introduction; I hope all of you will express your views on these and other relevant problems.

CONCLUSION

May 23, 1942

Comrades! Our forum has had three meetings this month. In the pursuit of truth

we have carried on spirited debates in which scores of Party and non-Party comrades have spoken, laying bare the issues and making them more concrete. This, I believe, will very much benefit the whole literary and artistic movement.

In discussing a problem, we should start from reality and not from definitions. We would be following a wrong method if we first looked up definitions of literature and art in textbooks and then used them to determine the guiding principles for the present-day literary and artistic movement and to judge the different opinions and controversies that arise today. We are Marxists, and Marxism teaches that in our approach to a problem we should start from objective facts, not from abstract definitions, and that we should derive our guiding principles, policies and measures from an analysis of these facts. We should do the same in our present discussion of literary and artistic work.

What are the facts at present? The facts are: the War of Resistance Against Japan which China has been fighting for five years; the world-wide anti-fascist war; the vacillations of China's big landlord class and big bourgeoisie in the War of Resistance and their policy of high-handed oppression of the people; the revolutionary movement in literature and art since the May 4th Movement — its great contributions to the revolution during the last twenty-three years and its many shortcomings; the anti-Japanese democratic base areas of the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies and the integration of large numbers of writers and artists with these armies and with the workers and peasants in these areas; the difference in both environment and tasks between the writers and artists in the base areas and those in the Kuomintang areas; and the controversial issues concerning literature and art which have arisen in Yen-an and the other anti-Japanese base areas. These are the actual, undeniable facts in the light of which we have to consider our problems.

What then is the crux of the matter? In my opinion, it consists fundamentally of the problems of working for the masses and how to work for the masses. Unless these two problems are solved, or solved properly, our writers and artists will be ill-adapted to their environment and their tasks and will come up against a series of difficulties from without and within. My concluding remarks will centre on these two problems and also touch upon some related ones.

I

The first problem is: literature and art for whom?

This problem was solved long ago by Marxists, especially by Lenin. As far back as 1905 Lenin pointed out emphatically that our literature and art should "serve . . . the millions and tens of millions of working people". For comrades engaged in literary and artistic work in the anti-Japanese base areas it might seem that this problem is already solved and needs no further discussion. Actually, that is not the case. Many comrades have not found a clear solution. Consequently their sentiments, their works, their actions and their views on the guiding principles for literature and art have inevitably been more or less at variance with the needs of the masses and of the practical struggle. Of course, among the numerous men of culture, writers, artists and other literary and artistic workers engaged in the great struggle for liberation together with the Communist Party and the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies, a few may be careerists who are with us only temporarily, but the overwhelming majority are working energetically for the common cause. By relying on these comrades, we have achieved a great deal in our literature, drama, music and fine arts. Many of these writers and artists have begun their work since the outbreak of the War of Resistance; many others did much revolutionary work before the war, endured many hardships and influenced broad masses of the people by their activities and works. Why do we say, then, that even among these comrades there are some who have not reached a clear solution of the problem of whom literature and art are for? Is it conceivable that there are still some who maintain that revolutionary literature and art are not for the masses of the people but for the exploiters and oppressors?

Indeed literature and art exist which are for the exploiters and oppressors. Literature and art for the landlord class are feudal literature and art. Such were the literature and art of the ruling class in China's feudal era. To this day such literature and art still have considerable influence in China. Literature and art for the bourgeoisie are bourgeois literature and art. People like Liang Shih-chiu, whom Lu Hsun criticized, talk about literature and art as transcending classes, but in fact they uphold bourgeois literature and art and oppose proletarian literature and art. Then literature and art exist which serve the imperialists — for example, the works of Chou Tso-jen, Chang Tzu-ping and their like — which we call traitor literature and art. With us, literature and art

are for the people, not for any of the above groups. We have said that China's new culture at the present stage is an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal culture of the masses of the people under the leadership of the proletariat. Today, anything that is truly of the masses must necessarily be led by the proletariat. Whatever is under the leadership of the bourgeoisie cannot possibly be of the masses. Naturally, the same applies to the new literature and art which are part of the new culture. We should take over the rich legacy and the good traditions in literature and art that have been handed down from past ages in China and foreign countries, but the aim must still be to serve the masses of the people. Nor do we refuse to utilize the literary and artistic forms of the past, but in our hands these old forms, remoulded and infused with new content, also become something revolutionary in the service of the people.

Who, then, are the masses of the people? The broadest sections of the people, constituting more than 90 per cent of our total population, are the workers, peasants, soldiers and urban petty bourgeoisie. Therefore, our literature and art are first for the workers, the class that leads the revolution. Secondly, they are for the peasants, the most numerous and most steadfast of our allies in the revolution. Thirdly, they are for the armed workers and peasants, namely, the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies and the other armed units of the people, which are the main forces of the revolutionary war. Fourthly, they are for the labouring masses of the urban petty bourgeoisie and for the petty-bourgeois intellectuals, both of whom are also our allies in the revolution and capable of long-term co-operation with us. These four kinds of people constitute the overwhelming majority of the Chinese nation, the broadest masses of the people.

Our literature and art should be for the four kinds of people we have enumerated. To serve them, we must take the class stand of the proletariat and not that of the petty bourgeoisie. Today, writers who cling to an individualist, petty-bourgeois stand cannot truly serve the masses of revolutionary workers, peasants and soldiers. Their interest is mainly focused on the small number of petty-bourgeois intellectuals. This is the crucial reason why some of our comrades cannot correctly solve the problem of "for whom?" In saying this I am not referring to theory. In theory, or in words, no one in our ranks regards the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers as less important than the petty-bourgeois intellectuals. I am referring to practice, to action. In practice, in action, do they regard

petty-bourgeois intellectuals as more important than workers, peasants and soldiers? I think they do. Many comrades concern themselves with studying the petty-bourgeois intellectuals and analysing their psychology, and they concentrate on portraying these intellectuals and excusing or defending their shortcomings, instead of guiding the intellectuals to join with them in getting closer to the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, taking part in the practical struggles of the masses, portraying and educating the masses. Coming from the petty bourgeoisie and being themselves intellectuals, many comrades seek friends only among intellectuals and concentrate on studying and describing them. Such study and description are proper if done from a proletarian position. But that is not what they do, or not what they do fully. They take the petty-bourgeois stand and produce works that are the self-expression of the petty bourgeoisie, as can be seen in quite a number of literary and artistic products. Often they show heartfelt sympathy for intellectuals of petty-bourgeois origin, to the extent of sympathizing with or even praising their shortcomings. On the other hand, these comrades seldom come into contact with the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, do not understand or study them, do not have intimate friends among them and are not good at portraying them; when they do depict them, the clothes are the clothes of working people but the faces are those of petty-bourgeois intellectuals. In certain respects they are fond of the workers, peasants and soldiers and the cadres stemming from them; but there are times when they do not like them and there are some respects in which they do not like them: they do not like their feelings or their manner or their nascent literature and art (the wall newspapers, murals, folk songs, folk tales, etc.). At times they are fond of these things too, but that is when they are hunting for novelty, for something with which to embellish their own works, or even for certain backward features. At other times they openly despise these things and are partial to what belongs to the petty-bourgeois intellectuals or even to the bourgeoisie. These comrades have their feet planted on the side of the petty-bourgeois intellectuals; or, to put it more elegantly, their innermost soul is still a kingdom of the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia. Thus they have not yet solved, or not yet clearly solved, the problem of "for whom?" This applies not only to newcomers to Yen-an; even among comrades who have been to the front and worked for a number of years in our base areas and in the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies, many have not

completely solved this problem. It requires a long period of time, at least eight or ten years, to solve it thoroughly. But however long it takes, solve it we must and solve it unequivocally and thoroughly. Our literary and art workers must accomplish this task and shift their stand; they must gradually move their feet over to the side of the workers, peasants and soldiers, to the side of the proletariat, through the process of going into their very midst and into the thick of practical struggles and through the process of studying Marxism and society. Only in this way can we have a literature and art that are truly for the workers, peasants and soldiers, a truly proletarian literature and art.

This question of "for whom?" is fundamental; it is a question of principle. The controversies and divergences, the opposition and disunity arising among some comrades in the past were not on this fundamental question of principle but on secondary questions, or even on issues involving no principle. On this question of principle, however, there has been hardly any divergence between the two contending sides and they have shown almost complete agreement; to some extent, both tend to look down upon the workers, peasants and soldiers and divorce themselves from the masses. I say "to some extent" because, generally speaking, these comrades do not look down upon the workers, peasants and soldiers or divorce themselves from the masses in the same way as the Kuomintang does. Nevertheless, the tendency is there. Unless this fundamental problem is solved, many other problems will not be easy to solve. Take, for instance, the sectarianism in literary and art circles. This too is a question of principle, but sectarianism can only be eradicated by putting forward and faithfully applying the slogans, "For the workers and peasants!", "For the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies!" and "Go among the masses!" Otherwise the problem of sectarianism can never be solved. Lu Hsun once said:

A common aim is the prerequisite for a united front. . . . The fact that our front is not united shows that we have not been able to unify our aims, and that some people are working only for small groups or indeed only for themselves. If we all aim at serving the masses of workers and peasants, our front will of course be united.

The problem existed then in Shanghai; now it exists in Chungking too. In such places the problem can hardly be solved thoroughly, because the rulers oppress the revolutionary writers and artists and deny them the freedom

to go out among the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. Here with us the situation is entirely different. We encourage revolutionary writers and artists to be active in forming intimate contacts with the workers, peasants and soldiers, giving them complete freedom to go among the masses and to create a genuinely revolutionary literature and art. Therefore, here among us the problem is nearing solution. But nearing solution is not the same as a complete and thorough solution. We must study Marxism and study society, as we have been saying, precisely in order to achieve a complete and thorough solution. By Marxism we mean living Marxism which plays an effective role in the life and struggle of the masses, not Marxism in words. With Marxism in words transformed into Marxism in real life, there will be no more sectarianism. Not only will the problem of sectarianism be solved, but many other problems as well.

II

Having settled the problem of whom to serve, we come to the next problem, how to serve. To put it in the words of some of our comrades: should we devote ourselves to raising standards, or should we devote ourselves to popularization?

In the past, some comrades, to a certain or even a serious extent, belittled and neglected popularization and laid undue stress on raising standards. Stress should be laid on raising standards, but to do so one-sidedly and exclusively, to do so excessively, is a mistake. The lack of a clear solution to the problem of "for whom?", which I referred to earlier, also manifests itself in this connection. As these comrades are not clear on the problem of "for whom?", they have no correct criteria for the "raising of standards" and the "popularization" they speak of, and are naturally still less able to find the correct relationship between the two. Since our literature and art are basically for the workers, peasants and soldiers, "popularization" means to popularize among the workers, peasants and soldiers, and "raising standards" means to advance from their present level. What should we popularize among them? Popularize what is needed and can be readily accepted by the feudal landlord class? Popularize what is needed and can be readily accepted by the bourgeoisie? Popularize what is needed and can be readily accepted by the petty-bourgeois intellectuals? No, none of these will do. We must popularize only what is needed and can be readily accepted by the workers, peasants and soldiers themselves. Consequently, prior to the task of

educating the workers, peasants and soldiers, there is the task of learning from them. This is even more true of raising standards. There must be a basis from which to raise. Take a bucket of water, for instance; where is it to be raised from if not from the ground? From mid-air? From what basis, then, are literature and art to be raised? From the basis of the feudal classes? From the basis of the bourgeoisie? From the basis of the petty-bourgeois intellectuals? No, not from any of these; only from the basis of the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. Nor does this mean raising the workers, peasants and soldiers to the "heights" of the feudal classes, the bourgeoisie or the petty-bourgeois intellectuals; it means raising the level of literature and art in the direction in which the workers, peasants and soldiers are themselves advancing, in the direction in which the proletariat is advancing. Here again the task of learning from the workers, peasants and soldiers comes in. Only by starting from the workers, peasants and soldiers can we have a correct understanding of popularization and of the raising of standards and find the proper relationship between the two.

In the last analysis, what is the source of all literature and art? Works of literature and art, as ideological forms, are products of the reflection in the human brain of the life of a given society. Revolutionary literature and art are the products of the reflection of the life of the people in the brains of revolutionary writers and artists. The life of the people is always a mine of the raw materials for literature and art, materials in their natural form, materials that are crude, but most vital, rich and fundamental; they make all literature and art seem pallid by comparison; they provide literature and art with an inexhaustible source, their only source. They are the only source, for there can be no other. Some may ask, is there not another source in books, in the literature and art of ancient times and of foreign countries? In fact, the literary and artistic works of the past are not a source but a stream; they were created by our predecessors and the foreigners out of the literary and artistic raw materials they found in the life of the people of their time and place. We must take over all the fine things in our literary and artistic heritage, critically assimilate whatever is beneficial, and use them as examples when we create works out of the literary and artistic raw materials in the life of the people of our own time and place. It makes a difference whether or not we have such examples, the difference between crudeness and refinement, between roughness and polish, between a low

and a high level, and between slower and faster work. Therefore, we must on no account reject the legacies of the ancients and the foreigners or refuse to learn from them, even though they are the works of the feudal or bourgeois classes. But taking over legacies and using them as examples must never replace our own creative work; nothing can do that. Uncritical transplantation or copying from the ancients and the foreigners is the most sterile and harmful dogmatism in literature and art. China's revolutionary writers and artists, writers and artists of promise, must go among the masses; they must for a long period of time unreservedly and wholeheartedly go among the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, go into the heat of the struggle, go to the only source, the broadest and richest source, in order to observe, experience, study and analyse all the different kinds of people, all the classes, all the masses, all the vivid patterns of life and struggle, all the raw materials of literature and art. Only then can they proceed to creative work. Otherwise, you will have nothing to work with and you will be nothing but a phoney writer or artist, the kind that Lu Hsun in his will so earnestly cautioned his son never to become.

Although man's social life is the only source of literature and art and is incomparably livelier and richer in content, the people are not satisfied with life alone and demand literature and art as well. Why? Because, while both are beautiful, life as reflected in works of literature and art can and ought to be on a higher plane, more intense, more concentrated, more typical, nearer the ideal, and therefore more universal than actual everyday life. Revolutionary literature and art should create a variety of characters out of real life and help the masses to propel history forward. For example, there is suffering from hunger, cold and oppression on the one hand, and exploitation and oppression of man by man on the other. These facts exist everywhere and people look upon them as commonplace. Writers and artists concentrate such everyday phenomena, typify the contradictions and struggles within them and produce works which awaken the masses, fire them with enthusiasm and impel them to unite and struggle to transform their environment. Without such literature and art, this task could not be fulfilled, or at least not so effectively and speedily.

What is meant by popularizing and by raising standards in works of literature and art? What is the relationship between these two tasks? Popular works are simpler and plainer, and therefore more readily accepted

by the broad masses of the people today. Works of a higher quality, being more polished, are more difficult to produce and in general do not circulate so easily and quickly among the masses at present. The problem facing the workers, peasants and soldiers is this: they are now engaged in a bitter and bloody struggle with the enemy but are illiterate and uneducated as a result of long years of rule by the feudal and bourgeois classes, and therefore they are eagerly demanding enlightenment, education and works of literature and art which meet their urgent needs and which are easy to absorb, in order to heighten their enthusiasm in struggle and confidence in victory, strengthen their unity and fight the enemy with one heart and one mind. For them the prime need is not "more flowers on the brocade" but "fuel in snowy weather". In present conditions, therefore, popularization is the more pressing task. It is wrong to belittle or neglect popularization.

Nevertheless, no hard and fast line can be drawn between popularization and the raising of standards. Not only is it possible to popularize some works of higher quality even now, but the cultural level of the broad masses is steadily rising. If popularization remains at the same level for ever, with the same stuff being supplied month after month and year after year, always the same "Little Cowherd" and the same "man, hand, mouth, knife, cow, goat", will not the educators and those being educated be six of one and half a dozen of the other? What would be the sense of such popularization? The people demand popularization and, following that, higher standards; they demand higher standards month by month and year by year. Here popularization means popularizing for the people and raising of standards means raising the level for the people. And such raising is not from mid-air, or behind closed doors, but is actually based on popularization. It is determined by and at the same time guides popularization. In China as a whole the development of the revolution and of revolutionary culture is uneven and their spread is gradual. While in one place there is popularization and then raising of standards on the basis of popularization, in other places popularization has not even begun. Hence good experience in popularization leading to higher standards in one locality can be applied in other localities and serve to guide popularization and the raising of standards there, saving many twists and turns along the road. Internationally, the good experience of foreign countries, and especially Soviet experience, can also serve to guide us. With us, therefore, the raising of

standards is based on popularization, while popularization is guided by the raising of standards. Precisely for this reason, so far from being an obstacle to the raising of standards, the work of popularization we are speaking of supplies the basis for the work of raising standards which we are now doing on a limited scale, and prepares the necessary conditions for us to raise standards in the future on a much broader scale.

Besides such raising of standards as meets the needs of the masses directly, there is the kind which meets their needs indirectly, that is, the kind which is needed by the cadres. The cadres are the advanced elements of the masses and generally have received more education; literature and art of a higher level are entirely necessary for them. To ignore this would be a mistake. Whatever is done for the cadres is also entirely for the masses, because it is only through the cadres that we can educate and guide the masses. If we go against this aim, if what we give the cadres cannot help them educate and guide the masses, our work of raising standards will be like shooting at random and will depart from the fundamental principle of serving the masses of the people.

To sum up: through the creative labour of revolutionary writers and artists, the raw materials found in the life of the people are shaped into the ideological form of literature and art serving the masses of the people. Included here are the more advanced literature and art as developed on the basis of elementary literature and art and as required by those sections of the masses whose level has been raised, or, more immediately, by the cadres among the masses. Also included here are elementary literature and art which, conversely, are guided by more advanced literature and art and are needed primarily by the overwhelming majority of the masses at present. Whether more advanced or elementary, all our literature and art are for the masses of the people, and in the first place for the workers, peasants and soldiers; they are created for the workers, peasants and soldiers and are for their use.

Now that we have settled the problem of the relationship between the raising of standards and popularization, that of the relationship between the specialists and the popularizers can also be settled. Our specialists are not only for the cadres, but also, and indeed chiefly, for the masses. Our specialists in literature should pay attention to the wall newspapers of the masses and to the reportage written in the army and the villages. Our

specialists in drama should pay attention to the small troupes in the army and the villages. Our specialists in music should pay attention to the songs of the masses. Our specialists in the fine arts should pay attention to the fine arts of the masses. All these comrades should make close contact with comrades engaged in the work of popularizing literature and art among the masses. On the one hand, they should help and guide the popularizers, and on the other, they should learn from these comrades and, through them, draw nourishment from the masses to replenish and enrich themselves so that their specialities do not become "ivory towers", detached from the masses and from reality and devoid of content or life. We should esteem the specialists, for they are very valuable to our cause. But we should tell them that no revolutionary writer or artist can do any meaningful work unless he is closely linked with the masses, gives expression to their thoughts and feelings and serves them as a loyal spokesman. Only by speaking for the masses can he educate them and only by being their pupil can he be their teacher. If he regards himself as their master, as an aristocrat who lords it over the "lower orders", then, no matter how talented he may be, he will not be needed by the masses and his work will have no future.

Is this attitude of ours utilitarian? Materialists do not oppose utilitarianism in general but the utilitarianism of the feudal, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois classes; they oppose those hypocrites who attack utilitarianism in words but in deeds embrace the most selfish and short-sighted utilitarianism. There is no "ism" in the world that transcends utilitarian considerations; in class society there can be only the utilitarianism of this or that class. We are proletarian revolutionary utilitarians and take as our point of departure the unity of the present and future interests of the broadest masses, who constitute over 90 per cent of the population; hence we are revolutionary utilitarians aiming for the broadest and the most long-range objectives, not narrow utilitarians concerned only with the partial and the immediate. If, for instance, you reproach the masses for their utilitarianism and yet for your own utility, or that of a narrow clique, force on the market and propagandize among the masses a work which pleases only the few but is useless or even harmful to the majority, then you are not only insulting the masses but also revealing your own lack of self-knowledge. A thing is good only when it brings real benefit to the masses of the people. Your work may be as good as "The Spring Snow", but if for the time being it caters only to the

few and the masses are still singing the "Song of the Rustic Poor", you will get nowhere by simply scolding them instead of trying to raise their level. The question now is to bring about a unity between "The Spring Snow" and the "Song of the Rustic Poor", between higher standards and popularization. Without such a unity, the highest art of any expert cannot help being utilitarian in the narrowest sense; you may call this art "pure and lofty" but that is merely your own name for it which the masses will not endorse.

Once we have solved the problems of fundamental policy, of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers and of how to serve them, such other problems as whether to write about the bright or the dark side of life and the problem of unity will also be solved. If everyone agrees on the fundamental policy, it should be adhered to by all our workers, all our schools, publications and organizations in the field of literature and art and in all our literary and artistic activities. It is wrong to depart from this policy and anything at variance with it must be duly corrected.

III

Since our literature and art are for the masses of the people, we can proceed to discuss a problem of inner-Party relations, *i.e.*, the relation between the Party's work in literature and art and the Party's work as a whole, and in addition a problem of the Party's external relations, *i.e.*, the relation between the Party's work in literature and art and the work of non-Party people in this field, a problem of the united front in literary and art circles.

Let us consider the first problem. In the world today all culture, all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines. There is in fact no such thing as art for art's sake, art that stands above classes, art that is detached from or independent of politics. Proletarian literature and art are part of the whole proletarian revolutionary cause; they are, as Lenin said, cogs and wheels in the whole revolutionary machine. Therefore, Party work in literature and art occupies a definite and assigned position in Party revolutionary work as a whole and is subordinated to the revolutionary tasks set by the Party in a given revolutionary period. Opposition to this arrangement is certain to lead to dualism or pluralism, and in essence amounts to "politics — Marxist, art — bourgeois", as with Trotsky. We do not favour overstressing the importance of literature and art, but neither do we favour underestimating

their importance. Literature and art are subordinate to politics, but in their turn exert a great influence on politics. Revolutionary literature and art are part of the whole revolutionary cause, they are cogs and wheels in it, and though in comparison with certain other and more important parts they may be less significant and less urgent and may occupy a secondary position, nevertheless, they are indispensable cogs and wheels in the whole machine, an indispensable part of the entire revolutionary cause. If we had no literature and art even in the broadest and most ordinary sense, we could not carry on the revolutionary movement and win victory. Failure to recognize this is wrong. Furthermore, when we say that literature and art are subordinate to politics, we mean class politics, the politics of the masses, not the politics of a few so-called statesmen. Politics, whether revolutionary or counter-revolutionary, is the struggle of class against class, not the activity of a few individuals. The revolutionary struggle on the ideological and artistic fronts must be subordinate to the political struggle because only through politics can the needs of the class and the masses find expression in concentrated form. Revolutionary statesmen, the political specialists who know the science or art of revolutionary politics, are simply the leaders of millions upon millions of statesmen — the masses. Their task is to collect the opinions of these mass statesmen, sift and refine them, and return them to the masses, who then take them and put them into practice. They are therefore not the kind of aristocratic "statesmen" who work behind closed doors and fancy they have a monopoly of wisdom. Herein lies the difference in principle between proletarian statesmen and decadent bourgeois statesmen. This is precisely why there can be complete unity between the political character of our literary and artistic works and their truthfulness. It would be wrong to fail to realize this and to debase the politics and the statesmen of the proletariat.

Let us consider next the question of the united front in the world of literature and art. Since literature and art are subordinate to politics and since the fundamental problem in China's politics today is resistance to Japan, our Party writers and artists must in the first place unite on this issue of resistance to Japan with all non-Party writers and artists (ranging from Party sympathizers and petty-bourgeois writers and artists to all those writers and artists of the bourgeois and landlord classes who are in favour of resistance to Japan). Secondly, we should unite with them on the issue of democracy. On this issue there

is a section of anti-Japanese writers and artists who do not agree with us, so the range of unity will unavoidably be somewhat more limited. Thirdly, we should unite with them on issues peculiar to the literary and artistic world, questions of method and style in literature and art; here again, as we are for socialist realism and some people do not agree, the range of unity will be narrower still. While on one issue there is unity, on another there is struggle, there is criticism. The issues are at once separate and interrelated, so that even on the very ones which give rise to unity, such as resistance to Japan, there are at the same time struggle and criticism. In a united front, "all unity and no struggle" and "all struggle and no unity" are both wrong policies — as with the Right capitulationism and tailism, or the "Left" exclusivism and sectarianism, practised by some comrades in the past. This is as true in literature and art as in politics.

The petty-bourgeois writers and artists constitute an important force among the forces of the united front in literary and art circles in China. There are many shortcomings in both their thinking and their works, but comparatively speaking, they are inclined towards the revolution and are close to the working people. Therefore, it is an especially important task to help them overcome their shortcomings and to win them over to the front which serves the working people.

IV

Literary and art criticism is one of the principal methods of struggle in the world of literature and art. It should be developed and, as comrades have rightly pointed out, our past work in this respect has been quite inadequate. Literary and art criticism is a complex question which requires a great deal of special study. Here I shall concentrate only on the basic problem of criteria in criticism. I shall also comment briefly on a few specific problems raised by some comrades and on certain incorrect views.

In literary and art criticism there are two criteria, the political and the artistic. According to the political criterion, everything is good that is helpful to unity and resistance to Japan, that encourages the masses to be of one heart and one mind, that opposes retrogression and promotes progress; on the other hand, everything is bad that is detrimental to unity and resistance to Japan, foments dissension and discord among the masses and opposes progress and drags people back. How can we tell the good from the bad — by the motive (the

subjective intention) or by the effect (social practice)? Idealists stress motive and ignore effect, while mechanical materialists stress effect and ignore motive. In contradistinction to both, we dialectical materialists insist on the unity of motive and effect. The motive of serving the masses is inseparably linked with the effect of winning their approval; the two must be united. The motive of serving the individual or a small clique is not good, nor is it good to have the motive of serving the masses without the effect of winning their approval and benefiting them. In examining the subjective intention of a writer or artist, that is, whether his motive is correct and good, we do not judge by his declarations but by the effect of his actions (mainly his works) on the masses in society. The criterion for judging subjective intention or motive is social practice and its effect. We want no sectarianism in our literary and art criticism and, subject to the general principle of unity for resistance to Japan, we should tolerate literary and art works with a variety of political attitudes. But at the same time, in our criticism we must adhere firmly to principle and severely criticize and repudiate all works of literature and art expressing views in opposition to the nation, to science, to the masses and to the Communist Party, because these so-called works of literature and art proceed from the motive and produce the effect of undermining unity for resistance to Japan. According to the artistic criterion, all works of a higher artistic quality are good or comparatively good, while those of a lower artistic quality are bad or comparatively bad. Here, too, of course, social effect must be taken into account. There is hardly a writer or artist who does not consider his own work beautiful, and our criticism ought to permit the free competition of all varieties of works of art; but it is also entirely necessary to subject these works to correct criticism according to the criteria of the science of aesthetics, so that art of a lower level can be gradually raised to a higher and art which does not meet the demands of the struggle of the broad masses can be transformed into art that does.

There is the political criterion and there is the artistic criterion; what is the relationship between the two? Politics cannot be equated with art, nor can a general world outlook be equated with a method of artistic creation and criticism. We deny not only that there is an abstract and absolutely unchangeable political criterion, but also that there is an abstract and absolutely unchangeable artistic criterion; each class in every class society has its own political and artistic criteria. But all

classes in all class societies invariably put the political criterion first and the artistic criterion second. The bourgeoisie always shuts out proletarian literature and art, however great their artistic merit. The proletariat must similarly distinguish among the literary and art works of past ages and determine its attitude towards them only after examining their attitude to the people and whether or not they had any progressive significance historically. Some works which politically are downright reactionary may have a certain artistic quality. The more reactionary their content and the higher their artistic quality, the more poisonous they are to the people, and the more necessary it is to reject them. A common characteristic of the literature and art of all exploiting classes in their period of decline is the contradiction between their reactionary political content and their artistic form. What we demand is the unity of politics and art, the unity of content and form, the unity of revolutionary political content and the highest possible perfection of artistic form. Works of art which lack artistic quality have no force, however progressive they are politically. Therefore, we oppose both works of art with a wrong political viewpoint and the tendency towards the "poster and slogan style" which is correct in political viewpoint but lacking in artistic power. On questions of literature and art we must carry on a struggle on two fronts.

Both these tendencies can be found in the thinking of many comrades. A good number of comrades tend to neglect artistic technique; it is therefore necessary to give attention to the raising of artistic standards. But as I see it, the political side is more of a problem at present. Some comrades lack elementary political knowledge and consequently have all sorts of muddled ideas. Let me cite a few examples from Yen-an.

"The theory of human nature." Is there such a thing as human nature? Of course there is. But there is only human nature in the concrete, no human nature in the abstract. In class society there is only human nature of a class character; there is no human nature above classes. We uphold the human nature of the proletariat and of the masses of the people, while the landlord and bourgeois classes uphold the human nature of their own classes, only they do not say so but make it out to be the only human nature in existence. The human nature boosted by certain petty-bourgeois intellectuals is also divorced from or opposed to the masses; what they call human nature is in essence nothing but bourgeois individualism, and so, in their eyes, prole-

tarian human nature is contrary to human nature. "The theory of human nature" which some people in Yen-an advocate as the basis of their so-called theory of literature and art puts the matter in just this way and is wholly wrong.

"The fundamental point of departure for literature and art is love, love of humanity." Now love may serve as a point of departure, but there is a more basic one. Love as an idea is a product of objective practice. Fundamentally, we do not start from ideas but from objective practice. Our writers and artists who come from the ranks of the intellectuals love the proletariat because society has made them feel that they and the proletariat share a common fate. We hate Japanese imperialism because Japanese imperialism oppresses us. There is absolutely no such thing in the world as love or hatred without reason or cause. As for the so-called love of humanity, there has been no such all-inclusive love since humanity was divided into classes. All the ruling classes of the past were fond of advocating it, and so were many so-called sages and wise men, but nobody has ever really practised it, because it is impossible in class society. There will be genuine love of humanity — after classes are eliminated all over the world. Classes have split society into many antagonistic groupings; there will be love of all humanity when classes are eliminated, but not now. We cannot love enemies, we cannot love social evils, our aim is to destroy them. This is common sense; can it be that some of our writers and artists still do not understand this?

"Literary and artistic works have always laid equal stress on the bright and the dark, half and half." This statement contains many muddled ideas. It is not true that literature and art have always done this. Many petty-bourgeois writers have never discovered the bright side. Their works only expose the dark and are known as the "literature of exposure". Some of their works simply specialize in preaching pessimism and world-weariness. On the other hand, Soviet literature in the period of socialist construction portrays mainly the bright. It, too, describes shortcomings in work and portrays negative characters, but this only serves as a contrast to bring out the brightness of the whole picture and is not on a so-called half-and-half basis. The writers and artists of the bourgeoisie in its period of reaction depict the revolutionary masses as mobs and themselves as saints, thus reversing the bright and the dark. Only truly revolutionary writers and artists can correctly solve the problem of whether to extol or to expose. All the dark

forces harming the masses of the people must be exposed and all the revolutionary struggles of the masses of the people must be extolled; this is the fundamental task of revolutionary writers and artists.

"The task of literature and art has always been to expose." This assertion, like the previous one, arises from ignorance of the science of history. Literature and art, as we have shown, have never been devoted solely to exposure. For revolutionary writers and artists the targets for exposure can never be the masses, but only the aggressors, exploiters and oppressors and the evil influence they have on the people. The masses too have shortcomings, which should be overcome by criticism and self-criticism within the people's own ranks, and such criticism and self-criticism is also one of the most important tasks of literature and art. But this should not be regarded as any sort of "exposure of the people". As for the people, the question is basically one of education and of raising their level. Only counter-revolutionary writers and artists describe the people as "born fools" and the revolutionary masses as "tyrannical mobs".

"This is still the period of the satirical essay, and Lu Hsun's style of writing is still needed." Living under the rule of the dark forces and deprived of freedom of speech, Lu Hsun used burning satire and freezing irony, cast in the form of essays, to do battle; and he was entirely right. We, too, must hold up to sharp ridicule the fascists, the Chinese reactionaries and everything that harms the people; but in the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region and the anti-Japanese base areas behind the enemy lines, where democracy and freedom are granted in full to the revolutionary writers and artists and withheld only from the counter-revolutionaries, the style of the essay should not simply be like Lu Hsun's. Here we can shout at the top of our voices and have no need for veiled and roundabout expressions, which are hard for the people to understand. When dealing with the people and not with their enemies, Lu Hsun never ridiculed or attacked the revolutionary people and the revolutionary Party in his "satirical essay period", and these essays were entirely different in manner from those directed against the enemy. To criticize the people's shortcomings is necessary, as we have already said, but in doing so we must truly take the stand of the people and speak out of whole-hearted eagerness to protect and educate them. To treat comrades like enemies is to go over to the stand of the enemy. Are we then to abolish satire? No. Satire is always necessary. But

there are several kinds of satire, each with a different attitude, satire to deal with our enemies, satire to deal with our allies and satire to deal with our own ranks. We are not opposed to satire in general; what we must abolish is the abuse of satire.

"I am not given to praise and eulogy. The works of people who eulogize what is bright are not necessarily great and the works of those who depict the dark are not necessarily paltry." If you are a bourgeois writer or artist, you will eulogize not the proletariat but the bourgeoisie, and if you are a proletarian writer or artist, you will eulogize not the bourgeoisie but the proletariat and working people; it must be one or the other. The works of the eulogists of the bourgeoisie are not necessarily great, nor are the works of those who show that the bourgeoisie is dark necessarily paltry; the works of the eulogists of the proletariat are not necessarily not great, but the works of those who depict the so-called "darkness" of the proletariat are bound to be paltry — are these not facts of history as regards literature and art? Why should we not eulogize the people, the creators of the history of mankind? Why should we not eulogize the proletariat, the Communist Party, New Democracy and socialism? There is a type of person who has no enthusiasm for the people's cause and looks coldly from the side-lines at the struggles and victories of the proletariat and its vanguard; what he is interested in, and will never weary of eulogizing, is himself, plus perhaps a few figures in his small coterie. Of course, such petty-bourgeois individualists are unwilling to eulogize the deeds and virtues of the revolutionary people or heighten their courage in struggle and their confidence in victory. Persons of this type are merely termites in the revolutionary ranks; of course, the revolutionary people have no need for these "singers".

"It is not a question of stand; my class stand is correct, my intentions are good and I understand all right, but I am not good at expressing myself and so the effect turns out bad." I have already spoken about the dialectical materialist view of motive and effect. Now I want to ask, is not the question of effect one of stand? A person who acts solely by motive and does not inquire what effect his action will have is like a doctor who merely writes prescriptions but does not care how many patients die of them. Or take a political party which merely makes declarations but does not care whether they are carried out. It may well be asked, is this a correct stand? And is the intention here good? Of course, mistakes may occur even though the effect has been taken into account beforehand, but is the

intention good when one continues in the same old rut after facts have proved that the effect is bad? In judging a party or a doctor, we must look at practice, at the effect. The same applies in judging a writer. A person with truly good intentions must take the effect into account, sum up experience and study the methods or, in creative work, study the technique of expression. A person with truly good intentions must criticize the shortcomings and mistakes in his own work with the utmost candour and resolve to correct them. This is precisely why Communists employ the method of self-criticism. This alone is the correct stand. Only in this process of serious and responsible practice is it possible gradually to understand what the correct stand is and gradually obtain a good grasp of it. If one does not move in this direction in practice, if there is simply the complacent assertion that one "understands all right", then in fact one has not understood at all.

"To call on us to study Marxism is to repeat the mistake of the dialectical materialist creative method, which will harm the creative mood." To study Marxism means to apply the dialectical materialist and historical materialist viewpoint in our observation of the world, of society and of literature and art; it does not mean writing philosophical lectures into our works of literature and art. Marxism embraces but cannot replace realism in literary and artistic creation, just as it embraces but cannot replace the atomic and electronic theories in physics. Empty, dry dogmatic formulas do indeed destroy the creative mood; not only that, they first destroy Marxism. Dogmatic "Marxism" is not Marxism, it is anti-Marxism. Then does not Marxism destroy the creative mood? Yes, it does. It definitely destroys creative moods that are feudal, bourgeois, petty-bourgeois, liberalistic, individualist, nihilist, art-for-art's sake, aristocratic, decadent or pessimistic, and every other creative mood that is alien to the masses of the people and to the proletariat. So far as proletarian writers and artists are concerned, should not these kinds of creative moods be destroyed? I think they should; they should be utterly destroyed. And while they are being destroyed, something new can be constructed.

V

The problems discussed here exist in our literary and art circles in Yen-an. What does that show? It shows that wrong styles of work still exist to a serious extent in our literary and art circles and that there are still many defects among our comrades, such as idealism,

dogmatism, empty illusions, empty talk, contempt for practice and aloofness from the masses, all of which call for an effective and serious campaign of rectification.

We have many comrades who are still not very clear on the difference between the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie. There are many Party members who have joined the Communist Party organizationally but have not yet joined the Party wholly or at all ideologically. Those who have not joined the Party ideologically still carry a great deal of the muck of the exploiting classes in their heads, and have no idea at all of what proletarian ideology, or communism, or the Party is. "Proletarian ideology?" they think. "The same old stuff!" Little do they know that it is no easy matter to acquire this stuff. Some will never have the slightest communist flavour about them as long as they live and can only end up by leaving the Party. Therefore, though the majority in our Party and in our ranks are clean and honest, we must in all seriousness put things in order both ideologically and organizationally if we are to develop the revolutionary movement more effectively and bring it to speedier success. To put things in order organizationally requires our first doing so ideologically, our launching a struggle of proletarian ideology against non-proletarian ideology. An ideological struggle is already under way in literary and art circles in Yen-an, and it is most necessary. Intellectuals of petty-bourgeois origin always stubbornly try in all sorts of ways, including literary and artistic ways, to project themselves and spread their views, and they want the Party and the world to be remoulded in their own image. In the circumstances it is our duty to jolt these "comrades" and tell them sharply, "That won't work! The proletariat cannot accommodate itself to you; to yield to you would actually be to yield to the big landlord class and the big bourgeoisie and to run the risk of undermining our Party and our country." Whom then must we yield to? We can mould the Party and the world only in the image of the proletarian vanguard. We hope our comrades in literary and art circles will realize the seriousness of this great debate and join actively in this struggle, so that every comrade may become sound and our entire ranks may become truly united and consolidated ideologically and organizationally.

Because of confusion in their thinking, many of our comrades are not quite able to draw a real distinction between our revolu-

tionary base areas and the Kuomintang areas and they make many mistakes as a consequence. A good number of comrades have come here from the garrets of Shanghai, and in coming from those garrets to the revolutionary base areas, they have passed not only from one kind of place to another but from one historical epoch to another. One society is semi-feudal, semi-colonial, under the rule of the big landlords and big bourgeoisie, the other is a revolutionary new-democratic society under the leadership of the proletariat. To come to the revolutionary bases means to enter an epoch unprecedented in the thousands of years of Chinese history, an epoch in which the masses of the people wield state power. Here the people around us and the audience for our propaganda are totally different. The past epoch is gone, never to return. Therefore, we must integrate ourselves with the new masses without any hesitation. If, living among the new masses, some comrades, as I said before, are still "lacking in knowledge and understanding" and remain "heroes with no place to display their prowess", then difficulties will arise for them, and not only when they go out to the villages; right here in Yen-an difficulties will arise for them. Some comrades may think, "Well, I had better continue writing for the readers in the Great Rear Area; it is a job I know well and has 'national significance'." This idea is entirely wrong. The Great Rear Area is also changing. Readers there expect authors in the revolutionary base areas to tell about the new people and the new world and not to bore them with the same old tales. Therefore, the more a work is written for the masses in the revolutionary base areas, the more national significance will it have. Fadeyev in *The Debacle* only told the story of a small guerrilla unit and had no intention of pandering to the palate of readers in the old world; yet the book has exerted world-wide influence. At any rate in China its influence is very great, as you know. China is moving forward, not back, and it is the revolutionary base areas, not any of the backward, retrogressive areas, that are leading China forward. This is a fundamental issue that, above all, comrades must come to understand in the rectification movement.

Since integration into the new epoch of the masses is essential, it is necessary thoroughly to solve the problem of the relationship between the individual and the masses. This couplet from a poem by Lu Hsun should be our motto:



Chairman Mao, our most respected and beloved great leader, accompanied by his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Biao and Comrade Zhou En-lai, warmly receives the cast of *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold*, staged by the Shanghai Peking Opera Theatre.

*Fierce-browed, I coolly defy a thousand
pointing fingers,*

*Head bowed, like a willing ox I serve the
children.*

The "thousand pointing fingers" are our enemies, and we will never yield to them, no matter how ferocious. The "children" here symbolize the proletariat and the masses. All Communists, all revolutionaries, all revolutionary literary and art workers should learn from the example of Lu Hsun and be "oxen" for the proletariat and the masses, bending their backs to the task until their dying day. Intellectuals who want to integrate themselves with the masses, who want to serve the masses, must go through a process in which they and the masses come to know each other well. This process may, and certainly will, involve much

pain and friction, but if you have the determination, you will be able to fulfil these requirements.

Today I have discussed only some of the problems of fundamental orientation for our literature and art movement; many specific problems remain which will require further study. I am confident that comrades here are determined to move in the direction indicated. I believe that in the course of the rectification movement and in the long period of study and work to come, you will surely be able to bring about a transformation in yourselves and in your works, to create many fine works which will be warmly welcomed by the masses of the people, and to advance the literature and art movement in the revolutionary base areas and throughout China to a glorious new stage.

Letter to the Yenan Peking Opera Theatre after Seeing 'Driven to Join the Liangshan Mountain Rebels'

January 9, 1944

MAO TSE-TUNG

HAVING seen your performance, I wish to express my thanks to you for the excellent work you have done. Please convey my thanks to the comrades of the cast! History is made by the people, yet the old opera (and all the old literature and art, which are divorced from the people) presents the people as though they were dirt, and the stage is dominated by lords and ladies and their pampered sons and daughters. Now you have reversed this reversal of history and restored historical

truth, and thus a new life is opening up for the old opera. That is why this merits congratulations. The initiative you have taken marks an epoch-making beginning in the revolutionization of the old opera. I am very happy at the thought of this. I hope you will write more plays and give more performances, and so help make this practice a common one which will prevail throughout the country.

Give Serious Attention to the Discussion of the Film 'The Life of Wu Hsun'

May 20, 1951

MAO TSE-TUNG

THE questions raised by *The Life of Wu Hsun* are fundamental in character. Living in the era of the Chinese people's great struggle against foreign aggressors and the domestic reactionary feudal rulers towards the end of the Ching dynasty, people like Wu Hsun did not lift a finger to disturb the tiniest fragment of the feudal economic base or its superstructure. On the contrary, they worked fanatically to spread feudal culture and, moreover, sedulously fawned upon the reactionary feudal rulers in order to acquire the status they themselves lacked for spreading feudal culture. Ought we to praise such vile conduct? Can we ever tolerate such vile conduct being

publicly praised, especially when such praise flaunts the revolutionary flag of "serving the people" and the failure of the revolutionary peasant struggle is used to heighten the contrast? To approve or tolerate such praise means to approve or tolerate reactionary propaganda vilifying the revolutionary struggle of the peasants, the history of China and the Chinese nation, and to regard such propaganda as justified.

The appearance of the film *The Life of Wu Hsun*, and particularly the praise lavished on Wu Hsun and the film, show the degree of ideological confusion reached in our country's cultural circles!

In the view of many writers, history develops not by the replacement of the old by the new, but by the exertion of every effort to preserve the old from extinction, not by class struggle to overthrow the reactionary feudal rulers who had to be overthrown, but by the negation of the class struggle of the oppressed and their submission to these rulers, in the manner of Wu Hsun. Our writers have not studied history to ascertain who were the enemies oppressing the Chinese people, and whether there is anything praiseworthy in those who submitted to these enemies and served them. Moreover, they have not tried to find out what new forms of social economy, new class forces, new personalities and ideas have appeared in China and struggled against the old forms of social economy and their superstructure (politics, culture, etc.) in the century and more since the Opium War of 1840, and they have accordingly failed to determine what is to be commended and praised, what is not to be commended and praised, and what is to be condemned.

Certain Communists who have reputedly grasped Marxism warrant particular attention. They have learned the history of social development — historical materialism — but when they come across specific historical events, specific historical figures (like Wu Hsun) and specific ideas contrary to history (as in the film *The Life of Wu Hsun* and the writings about Wu Hsun), they lose their critical faculties, and some have even capitulated to these reactionary ideas. Is it not a fact that reactionary bourgeois ideas have found their way into the militant Communist Party? Where on earth is the Marxism which certain Communists claim to have grasped?

For the above reasons, there should be discussion on the film *The Life of Wu Hsun* and on books and essays relating to Wu Hsun so as thoroughly to straighten out the confused thinking on this question.

N.B. This article is taken from an editorial written by Comrade Mao Tse-tung for the *Renmin Ribao* (People's Daily).

Letter Concerning Studies of 'The Dream of the Red Chamber'

October 16, 1954

MAO TSE-TUNG

ENCLOSED are two articles refuting Yu Ping-po. Please look them over. They are the first serious attack in over 30 years on the erroneous views of a so-called authoritative writer in the field of study of *The Dream of the Red Chamber*. The authors are two Youth League members. First they wrote to the *Wen Yi Pao* (Literary Gazette) to ask whether it was all right to criticize Yu Ping-po, but were ignored. Having no other alternative, they wrote to their teachers at their alma mater — Shantung University — and got support. Their article refuting "A Brief Comment on *The Dream of the Red Chamber*" was published in the university journal *Wen Shih Che* (Literature, History and Philosophy). Then the problem came up again in Peking. Some people asked to have this article reprinted in the

Renmin Ribao (People's Daily) in order to arouse discussion and criticism. This was not done because certain persons opposed it for various reasons (the main one being that it was "an article written by nobodies" and that "the Party paper is not a platform for free debate"). As a result a compromise was reached, and the article was allowed to be reprinted in the *Wen Yi Pao*. Later, the "Literary Legacy" page of the *Kuang-ming Daily* carried another article by the two young men refuting Yu Ping-po's book, *Studies of "The Dream of the Red Chamber"*. It seems likely that the struggle is about to start against the Hu Shih school of bourgeois idealism which has been poisoning young people in the field of classical literature for more

than 30 years. The whole thing has been set going by two "nobodies", while the "big shots" usually ignore or even obstruct it, and they form a united front with bourgeois writers on the basis of idealism and are willing captives of the bourgeoisie. It was almost the same when the films *Inside Story of the Ching Court* and *The Life of Wu Hsun* were shown. The film *Inside Story of the Ching Court*, which has been described by certain people as patriotic but is in fact a film of national betrayal, has not been criticized and repudiated at any time since it was shown all over the country. Although *The Life of Wu Hsun* has been criticized, up to now no lessons have been

drawn; what is more, we have the strange situation in which Yu Ping-po's idealism is tolerated and lively critical essays by "nobodies" are obstructed. This deserves our attention.

Towards such bourgeois intellectuals as Yu Ping-po, our attitude should naturally be one of uniting with them. But we should criticize and repudiate their erroneous ideas which poison the minds of young people and should not surrender to them.

N.B. This is a letter written by Comrade Mao Tse-tung to the comrades of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and other comrades concerned.

Two Instructions Concerning Literature and Art

MAO TSE-TUNG

I. Instruction of December 12, 1963

PROBLEMS abound in all forms of art such as the drama, ballads, music, the fine arts, the dance, the cinema, poetry and literature, and the people involved are numerous; in many departments very little has been achieved so far in socialist transformation. The "dead" still dominate in many departments. What has been achieved in the cinema, new poetry, folk songs, the fine arts and the novel should not be underestimated, but there, too, there are quite a few problems. As for

such departments as the drama, the problems are even more serious. The social and economic base has changed, but the arts as part of the superstructure, which serve this base, still remain a serious problem. Hence we should proceed with investigation and study and attend to this matter in earnest.

Isn't it absurd that many Communists are enthusiastic about promoting feudal and capitalist art, but not socialist art?

II. Instruction of June 27, 1964

IN the last 15 years these associations, most of their publications (it is said that a few are good) and by and large the people in them (that is not everybody) have not carried out the policies of the Party. They have acted as high and mighty bureaucrats, have not gone to the workers, peasants and soldiers and have

not reflected the socialist revolution and socialist construction. In recent years they have slid right down to the brink of revisionism. Unless they remould themselves in real earnest, at some future date they are bound to become groups like the Hungarian Petofi Club.



TAKING THE BANDITS' STRONGHOLD

A revolutionary Peking Opera on a contemporary theme which portrays how a detachment of the People's Liberation Army in northeast China wipes out a bandit gang on Tiger Mountain during the War of Liberation (1946-49) by relying on the people and the strategy and tactics taught by Chairman Mao. It is a concentrated reflection of Chairman Mao's strategy for building north-east China into a strong base area.

Yang Tzu-jung, leader of the scouts platoon, disguises himself as a bandit in order to get into their lair on Tiger Mountain.

With Li Yung-chi, leader of a people's militia unit, as a guide, with the masses' support and the coordinated action of Yang Tzu-jung from within, the detachment wipes out the bandit gang.





Receiving Yang Tzu-jung's message from inside the bandit lair, a P.L.A. detachment skis day and night to attack the Tiger Mountain stronghold.

The detachment publicizes the policy of the Chinese Communist Party and mobilizes the masses. Together they resolve to wipe out the Kuomintang bandit gang.



A Letter from Comrade Lin Piao to the Members of the Standing Committee of the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Party

March 22, 1966

Comrades of the Standing Committee,

I am herewith sending you for your attention the Summary of the Forum on the Work in Literature and Art in the Armed Forces which Comrade Chiang Ching convened. The summary, which has been repeatedly gone over by the comrades attending the forum and has been personally examined and revised by the Chairman three times, is an excellent document. It applies Mao Tse-tung's thought to answer many important questions concerning the cultural revolution in the period of socialism. It is of both extremely great practical and far-reaching historic significance.

The last sixteen years have witnessed sharp class struggle on the front of literature and art and the question of who will win out has not yet been settled. If the proletariat does not occupy the positions in literature and art, the bourgeoisie certainly will. This struggle

is inevitable. And it represents an extremely broad and deep socialist revolution in the realm of ideology. If things are not done properly, revisionism will prevail. We must hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and unswervingly carry this revolution through to the end.

The problems and the ideas raised in the summary correspond fully with the realities in the work of literature and art in the armed forces, and the ideas must be resolutely carried out so as to enable this work in the armed forces to play an important role in keeping politics in the forefront and in promoting the revolutionization of people's thinking.

Please let me know your opinions on the summary before it is submitted to the Central Committee for examination and approval.

With greetings,

LIN PIAO

Summary of the Forum on the Work in Literature and Art in the Armed Forces With Which Comrade Lin Piao Entrusted Comrade Chiang Ching

I

Entrusted by Comrade Lin Piao with the task, Comrade Chiang Ching invited some comrades in the armed forces to a forum held in Shanghai from February 2 to 20, 1966, to discuss certain questions concerning the work in literature and art in the armed forces.

Before these comrades left for Shanghai, Comrade Lin Piao gave them the following instructions: "Comrade Chiang Ching talked with me yesterday. She is very sharp politically on questions of literature and art, and she really knows art. She has many opinions, and they are very valuable. You should pay good attention to them and take measures to insure that they are applied ideologically and organizationally. From now on, the army's documents concerning literature and art should be sent to her. Get in touch with her when you have any information for her to keep her well posted on the situation in literature and art work in the armed forces. Ask her for her opinions, which will help improve this work. We should not rest content with either the present ideological level or the present artistic level of such work, both of which need further improvement." Comrade Hsiao Hua and Comrade Yang Cheng-wu expressed enthusiastic approval of and support for this forum and instructed us to act in accordance with Comrade Chiang Ching's opinions. They also expressed their thanks to Comrade Chiang Ching for her concern for the work in literature and art in the armed forces.

At the beginning of the forum and in the course of the exchange of views, Comrade Chiang Ching said time and again that she had not studied Chairman Mao's works well enough and that her comprehension of Chairman Mao's thought was not profound, but that whatever points she had grasped she would act upon resolutely. She said that during the last four years she had largely concentrated on reading a number of literary works and had formed certain ideas, not all of which were necessarily correct. She said that we were all Party members and that for the cause

of the Party we should discuss things together on an equal footing. This discussion should have been held last year but had been postponed because she had not been in good health. As her health had recently improved, she had invited the comrades to join in discussions according to Comrade Lin Piao's instructions.

Comrade Chiang Ching suggested that we read and see a number of items first and then study relevant documents and material before discussing them. She advised us to read (Chairman Mao's) relevant writings, had eight private discussions with a comrade from the army and attended four group discussions, thirteen film shows and three theatrical performances together with us. She also exchanged opinions with us while watching the films and the theatrical performances. And she advised us to see 21 other films. During this period, Comrade Chiang Ching saw a sample copy of the film *The Great Wall Along the South China Sea*, received the directors, cameramen and part of the cast and talked with them three times, which was a great education and inspiration to them. From our contacts with Comrade Chiang Ching we realize that her understanding of Chairman Mao's thought is quite profound and that she has made a prolonged and fairly full investigation and study of current problems in the field of literature and art and has gained rich practical experience through her personal exertions in cultivating "experimental plots of land". Taking up her work while she was still in poor health, she held discussions and saw films and theatrical performances together with us and was always modest, warm and sincere. All this has enlightened and helped us a great deal.

II

In the course of the twenty days, we read two of Chairman Mao's writings and other relevant material, listened to Comrade Chiang Ching's many highly important opinions and saw more than thirty films, including good and bad ones and others with

shortcomings and mistakes of varying degrees. We also saw two comparatively successful Peking Operas on contemporary revolutionary themes, namely, *Raid on the White Tiger Regiment* and *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold*. All this helped to deepen our comprehension of Chairman Mao's thought on literature and art and raise the level of our understanding of the socialist cultural revolution. Here are a number of ideas which we discussed and agreed upon at the forum.

(1) The last sixteen years have witnessed sharp class struggles on the cultural front.

Actually in both stages of our revolution, the new democratic stage and the socialist stage, there has been a struggle between the two classes and the two lines on the cultural front, i.e., the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie for leadership on this front. In the history of our Party, the struggle against both "Left" and Right opportunism has also included struggles between the two lines on the cultural front. Wang Ming's line represented bourgeois thinking which was once rampant within our Party. In the rectification movement which started in 1942, Chairman Mao made a thorough theoretical refutation first of Wang Ming's political, military and organizational lines and then, immediately afterwards, of the cultural line he represented. Chairman Mao's *On New Democracy*, *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* and *Letter to the Yen-an Peking Opera Theatre after Seeing "Driven to Join the Liangshan Mountain Rebels"* are the most complete, the most comprehensive and the most systematic historical summaries of this struggle between the two lines on the cultural front. They carry on and develop the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and theory on literature and art. After our revolution entered the socialist stage, Chairman Mao's two writings, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* and *Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work*, were published. They are the most recent summaries of the historical experience of the movements for a revolutionary ideology and a revolutionary literature and art in China and other countries. They represent a new development of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and of the Marxist-Leninist theory on literature and art. These five writings by Chairman Mao meet the needs of the proletariat adequately and for a long time to come.

More than twenty years have elapsed since the publication of the first three of these five works by Chairman Mao and nearly ten years since the publication of the last two. However, in the fifteen years since the founding of our People's Republic, the ideas in these works have basically not been carried out by literary and art circles. Instead, we have been under the dictatorship of a sinister anti-Party and anti-socialist line which is diametrically opposed to Chairman Mao's thought. This sinister line is a combination of bourgeois ideas on literature and art, modern revisionist ideas on literature and art and what is known as the literature and art of the 1930s (in the Kuomintang areas of China). Typical expres-

sions of this line are such theories as those of "truthful writing", "the broad path of realism", "the deepening of realism", opposition to "subject matter as the decisive factor", "middle characters", opposition to "the smell of gunpowder" and "the spirit of the age as the merging of various trends". Most of these views were refuted long ago by Chairman Mao in his *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*. In film circles there are people who advocate "discarding the classics and rebelling against orthodoxy", in other words, discarding the classics of Marxism-Leninism, of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and rebelling against the orthodoxy of people's revolutionary war. As a result of the influence or domination of this bourgeois and modern revisionist counter-current in literature and art, there have been few good or basically good works in the last decade or so (although there have been some) which truly praise worker, peasant and soldier heroes and which serve the workers, peasants and soldiers; many are mediocre, while some are anti-Party and anti-socialist poisonous weeds. In accordance with the instructions of the Central Committee of the Party, we must resolutely carry on a great socialist revolution on the cultural front and completely eliminate this sinister line. After we are rid of this sinister line, still others will appear and the struggle must go on. Therefore, this is an arduous, complex and long-term struggle which will take decades, or even centuries. It is a cardinal issue which has a vital bearing on the future of the Chinese revolution and the future of the world revolution.

A lesson to be drawn from the last decade or so is that we began to tackle the problem a little late. We have taken up only a few specific questions and have not dealt with the whole problem systematically and comprehensively. So long as we do not seize hold of the field of culture, we will inevitably forfeit many positions in this field to the sinister line and this is a serious lesson. After the Tenth Plenary Session of the Central Committee in 1962 adopted a resolution on the unfolding of class struggle throughout the country, the struggle to foster proletarian ideology and liquidate bourgeois ideology in the cultural field has gradually developed.

(2) The last three years have seen a new situation in the great socialist cultural revolution. The most outstanding example is the rise of Peking Operas on contemporary revolutionary themes. Led by the Central Committee of the Party headed by Chairman Mao and armed with Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, literary and art workers engaged in revolutionizing Peking Opera have launched a heroic and tenacious offensive against the literature and art of the feudal class, the bourgeoisie and the modern revisionists. Under the irresistible impact of this offensive, Peking Opera, formerly the most stubborn of strongholds, has been radically revolutionized, both in ideology and in form. This has started a revolutionary change in literary and art circles. Peking Operas with contemporary revolutionary themes like *The Red Lantern*, *Shachiapang*, *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold* and *Raid on*

the *White Tiger Regiment*, the ballet *Red Detachment of Women*, the symphony *Shachiapang* and the group of clay sculptures *Rent Collection Courtyard* have been approved by the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and acclaimed by Chinese and foreign audiences. They are pioneer efforts which will exert a profound and far-reaching influence on the socialist cultural revolution. They effectively prove that even that most stubborn of strongholds, Peking Opera, can be taken by storm and revolutionized and that foreign classical art forms such as the ballet and symphonic music can also be remoulded to serve our purpose. This should give us still greater confidence in revolutionizing other art forms. Some people say that Peking Operas with contemporary revolutionary themes have discarded the traditions and basic skills of Peking Opera. On the contrary, the fact is that Peking Operas with contemporary revolutionary themes have inherited the Peking Opera traditions in a critical way and have really weeded out the old to let the new emerge. The fact is not that the basic skills of Peking Opera have been discarded but that they are no longer adequate. Those which cannot be used to reflect present-day life should and must be discarded. In order to reflect present-day life, we urgently need to refine, create, and gradually develop and enrich the basic skills of Peking Opera through our experience of real life. At the same time, these successes deal a powerful blow at conservatives of various descriptions and such views as the "box-office earnings" theory, the "foreign exchange earnings" theory and the theory that "revolutionary works can't travel abroad".

Another outstanding feature of the socialist cultural revolution in the last three years is the widespread mass activity of workers, peasants and soldiers on the fronts of ideology, literature and art. Workers, peasants and soldiers are now producing many fine philosophical articles which splendidly express Mao Tse-tung's thought in terms of their own practice. They are also producing many fine works of literature and art in praise of the triumph of our socialist revolution, the big leap forward on all the fronts of socialist construction, our new heroes, and the brilliant leadership of our great Party and our great leader. In particular, both in content and in form the numerous poems by workers, peasants and soldiers appearing on wall-newspapers and blackboards represent an entirely new age.

Of course, these are merely the first fruits of our socialist cultural revolution, the first step in our long march of ten thousand li. In order to safeguard and extend these achievements and to carry the socialist cultural revolution through to the end, we must work hard for a long time.

(3) The struggle between the two roads on the front of literature and art is bound to be reflected in the armed forces, which do not exist in a vacuum and cannot possibly be an exception to the rule. The Chinese People's Liberation Army is the chief instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat in China. It represents the mainstay and hope of the Chinese people and the revolutionary people of the

world. Without a people's army, neither the victory of our revolution nor the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism would have been possible and the people would have nothing. Therefore, the enemy will inevitably try to undermine it from all sides and will inevitably use literature and art as weapons in his attempt to corrupt it ideologically. However, after Chairman Mao pointed out that basically, literary and art circles had not carried out the policies of the Party over the past fifteen years, certain persons still claimed that the problem of the orientation of literature and art in our armed forces had already been solved, and that the problem to be solved was mainly one of raising the artistic level. This point of view is wrong and is not based on concrete analysis. In point of fact, some works of literature and art by our armed forces have a correct orientation and have reached a comparatively high artistic level; some have a correct orientation but their artistic level is low; others have serious defects or mistakes in both political orientation and artistic form, and still others are anti-Party and anti-socialist poisonous weeds. The "August First" Studio has produced as bad a film as *The Pressgang*. This shows that the work in literature and art in the armed forces has also come under the influence of the sinister line to a greater or lesser degree. Besides, we have as yet trained relatively few creative workers who are really up to the mark; the ideological problems in creative work are still numerous, and the ranks are still not so pure. We must analyse and solve these problems properly.

(4) The Liberation Army must play an important role in the socialist cultural revolution. Comrade Lin Piao has kept a firm hold on the work in literature and art since he has been in charge of the work of the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Party. The many instructions he has given are correct. "The Resolution on Strengthening Political and Ideological Work in the Armed Forces" adopted at the enlarged session of the Military Commission clearly specified that the aim of the work in literature and art in the armed forces was "to serve the cause of fostering proletarian ideology and liquidating bourgeois ideology and consolidating and improving fighting capacity in close conjunction with the tasks of the armed forces and in the context of their ideological situation". There is already a nucleus of literary and art workers in the armed forces whom we have trained and who have been tempered in revolutionary war. A number of good works have been produced in the armed forces. Therefore, the Liberation Army must play its due role in the socialist cultural revolution and must fight bravely and unswervingly to carry out the policy that literature and art should serve the workers, peasants and soldiers and serve socialism.

(5) In the cultural revolution, there must be both destruction and construction. Leaders must take personal charge and see to it that good models are created. The bourgeoisie has its reactionary "monologue on creating the new". We, too, should create what is new and original, new in the sense that it is



After finishing the loading, the dock workers and Fang Hai-chen, woman Party branch secretary of the loading team, burst into a song full of internationalist spirit and their warm love for Chairman Mao.

ON THE DOCKS

A revolutionary Peking Opera on a contemporary theme which portrays how a group of Chinese workers in the 60's, armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought and the proletarian internationalist spirit, rush to load grain going to support the anti-imperialist struggles being waged by the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America.



Ma Hung-liang, a retired worker, and Fang Hai-chen give Han Hsiao-chiang, a young worker under the pernicious influence of bourgeois ideas, a lesson in class struggle by describing how miserably exploited the Shanghai dock workers were before liberation.



Above: In face of the foreign ship's decision to sail ahead of time, and the coming storm, dock workers load grain into the ship's hold with a true communist style of work and spirit of defying hardships.



Left: Fang Hai-chen is determined to get the loading done before the approaching rainstorm breaks.

socialist and original in the sense that it is proletarian. The basic task of socialist literature and art is to work hard and create heroic models of workers, peasants and soldiers. Only when we have such models and successful experience in creating them will we be able to convince people, to consolidate the positions we hold, and to knock the reactionaries' stick out of their hands.

On this question, we should have a sense of pride and not of inferiority.

We must destroy the blind faith in what is known as the literature and art of the 1930s (in the Kuomintang areas of China). At that time, the Left-wing movement in literature and art followed Wang Ming's "Left" opportunist line politically; organizationally it practised closed-doorism and sectarianism; and its ideas on literature and art were virtually those of Russian bourgeois literary critics such as Belinsky, Chernyshevsky and Dobrolyubov and of Stanislavsky in the theatrical field, all of whom were bourgeois democrats in tsarist Russia with bourgeois ideas and not Marxist ones. The bourgeois-democratic revolution is a revolution in which one exploiting class replaces another. It is only the proletarian socialist revolution that finally destroys all exploiting classes. Therefore, we must not take the ideas of any bourgeois revolutionary as guiding principles for our proletarian movement in ideology or in literature and art. There were of course good things in the 1930s too, namely, the militant Left-wing movement in literature and art led by Lu Hsun. Around the middle of the 1930s, some Left-wing leaders under the influence of Wang Ming's Right capitulationist line abandoned the Marxist-Leninist class standpoint and put forward the slogan of "a literature of national defence". This was a bourgeois slogan. It was Lu Hsun who put forward the proletarian slogan of "a mass literature for the national revolutionary war". Some Left-wing writers and artists, notably Lu Hsun, also raised the slogans that literature and art should serve the workers and peasants and that the workers and peasants should create their own literature and art. However, no systematic solution was found for the fundamental problem of the integration of literature and art with the workers, peasants and soldiers. The great majority of those Left-wing writers and artists were bourgeois nationalist-democrats, and a number failed to pass the test of the democratic revolution, while others have not given a good account of themselves under the test of socialism.

We must destroy blind faith in Chinese and foreign classical literature. Stalin was a great Marxist-Leninist. His criticism of the modernist literature and art of the bourgeoisie was very sharp. But he uncritically took over what are known as the classics of Russia and Europe and the consequences were bad. The classical literature and art of China and of Europe (including Russia) and even American films have exercised a considerable influence on our literary and art circles, and some people have regarded them as holy writ and accepted them in their entirety. We should draw a lesson from Stalin's experience. Old and foreign works should be studied too, and refusal to study them would be wrong; but

we must study them critically, making the past serve the present and foreign works serve China.

As for the relatively good Soviet revolutionary works of literature and art which appeared after the October Revolution, they too must be analysed and not blindly worshipped or, still less, blindly imitated. Blind imitation can never become art. Literature and art can only spring from the life of the people which is their sole source. This is borne out by the whole history of literature and art, past and present, Chinese and foreign.

The rising forces in the world invariably defeat the forces of decay. Our People's Liberation Army was weak and small at the beginning, but it eventually became strong and defeated the U.S.-Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries. Confronted with the excellent revolutionary situation at home and abroad and our glorious tasks, we should be proud to be thoroughgoing revolutionaries. We must have the confidence and courage to do things never previously attempted, because ours is a revolution to eliminate all exploiting classes and systems of exploitation once and for all and to root out all exploiting class ideologies, which poison the minds of the people. Under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman Mao and under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, we must create a new socialist revolutionary literature and art worthy of our great country, our great Party, our great people and our great army. This will be a most brilliant new literature and art opening up a new era in human history.

But it is no easy matter to create good models. Strategically we must take the difficulties in creative work lightly, but tactically we must take them seriously. To create a fine work is an arduous process, and the comrades in charge of creative work must never adopt a bureaucratic or casual attitude but must work really hard and share the writers' and artists' joys and hardships. It is essential to get first-hand material as far as possible, or when this is impossible at least to get the material at second hand. There should be no fear of failures or mistakes. Allowance should be made for them, and people must be permitted to correct their mistakes. It is necessary to rely on the masses, follow the line of "from the masses, to the masses", and repeatedly undergo the test of practice over a long period, so that a work may become better and better and achieve the unity of revolutionary political content and the best possible artistic form. In the course of practice it is necessary to sum up experience in good time and gradually grasp the laws of various forms of art. Otherwise, no good models can be created.

We should give the fullest attention to the themes of socialist revolution and socialist construction, and it would be entirely wrong to ignore them.

A serious effort should now be made to create works of literature and art about the three great military campaigns of Liaohsi-Shenyang, Huai-Hai and Peiping-Tientsin and other important campaigns

while the comrades who led and directed them are still alive. There are many important revolutionary themes, historical and contemporary, on which work urgently needs to be done in a planned and systematic way. A success must be made of the film, *The Great Wall Along the South China Sea*. The film *The Long March* must be revised successfully. A nucleus of truly proletarian writers and artists should be trained in the process.

(6) People engaged in the work of literature and art, whether they are leaders or writers and artists, must all practise the Party's democratic centralism. We favour "rule by the voice of the many" and oppose "rule by the voice of one man alone". We must follow the mass line. In the past, some people pressed the leadership to nod and applaud when they produced something. This is a very bad style of work. As for the cadres in charge of creative work in literature and art, they should always bear two points in mind: first, be good at listening to the opinions of the broad masses; second, be good at analysing these opinions, accept the right ones and reject the wrong ones. Completely flawless works of literature and art are non-existent, and as long as the keynote of a work is good, we should help improve it by pointing out its shortcomings and errors. Bad works should not be hidden away but should be shown to the masses for their comment. We must not be afraid of the masses but should have firm trust in them, and they can give us much valuable advice. Besides, this will improve their powers of discrimination. It costs several hundred thousand or as much as a million yuan to produce a film. To hide a bad film away is wasteful. Why not show it to the public so as to educate writers and artists and the masses and at the same time make up for its cost to the state and thus turn it to good account ideologically and economically? The film *The Besieged City* has been shown for a long time but it received no criticism. Shouldn't the *Liberation Army Daily* write an article criticizing it?

(7) We must encourage revolutionary and militant mass criticism of literature and art, and break the monopoly of criticism of literature and art by a few so-called critics (those wrong in orientation and deficient in militancy). We must place the weapon of criticism of literature and art in the hands of the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and integrate professional critics with critics from among the masses. We must make this criticism more militant and oppose unprincipled vulgar praise. We must reform our style of writing, encourage the writing of short, popular articles, turn our criticism of literature and art into daggers and hand grenades and learn to handle them effectively in close combat. Of course, we must at the same time write longer, systematic articles of theoretical depth. We oppose the use of terminology and jargon to frighten people. Only in this way can we disarm the self-styled critics of literature and art. The *Liberation Army Daily* and *Liberation Army Literature and Art* should set up special columns, regular or occasional, for comment on literature and art. Warm support should be given to good or basically good works and their shortcom-

ings pointed out in a helpful way. And principled criticism must be made of bad works. In the theoretical field, we must thoroughly and systematically criticize typical fallacies on literature and art and the many other fallacies spread by certain people who attempt to falsify history and to boost themselves in such books as the *History of the Development of the Chinese Film*, *A Collection of Historical Data on the Chinese Drama Movement in the Last Fifty Years* and *A Preliminary Study of the Repertory of Peking Opera*. We must not mind being accused of "brandishing the stick". When some people charge us with over-simplification and crudeness, we must analyse these charges. Some of our criticisms are basically correct but are not sufficiently convincing because our analysis and evidence are inadequate and should be improved. With some people it is a matter of understanding; they start by accusing us of over-simplification and crudeness but eventually drop the charge. But when the enemy condemns our correct criticisms as over-simplified and crude, we must stand firm. Criticism of literature and art should become one of our day-to-day tasks, an important method both in the struggle in the field of literature and art and in Party leadership in this field of work. Without correct criticism of literature and art it is impossible for creative work to flourish.

(8) In the struggle against foreign revisionism in the field of literature and art, we must not only catch small figures like Chukhrai. We should catch the big ones, catch Sholokhov and dare to tackle him. He is the father of revisionist literature and art. His *And Quiet Flows the Don*, *Virgin Soil Uplifted* and *The Fate of a Man* have exercised a big influence on a number of Chinese writers and readers. Shouldn't the army organize people to study his works and write convincing critical articles containing well-documented analysis? This will have a profound influence in China and the rest of the world. The same thing should be done with similar works by Chinese writers.

(9) As for method, we must combine revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism in our creative work, and must not adopt bourgeois critical realism or bourgeois romanticism.

The fine qualities of the worker, peasant and soldier heroes who have emerged under the guidance of the correct line of the Party are the concentrated expression of the class character of the proletariat. We must work with enthusiasm and do everything possible to create heroic models of workers, peasants and soldiers. We should create typical characters. **Chairman Mao has said that "life as reflected in works of literature and art can and ought to be on a higher plane, more intense, more concentrated, more typical, nearer the ideal, and therefore more universal than actual everyday life"**. We should not confine ourselves to actual persons and events. Nor should we portray a hero only after he is dead. In fact, there are many more living heroes than dead ones. This means that our writers must sum up the material from real life accumulated over a long period of time and create a variety of typical characters.

When we write about revolutionary wars, we must first be clear about their nature—ours is the side of justice and the enemy's is the side of injustice. Our works must show our arduous struggles and heroic sacrifices, but must also express revolutionary heroism and revolutionary optimism. While depicting the cruelty of war, we must not exaggerate or glorify its horrors. While depicting the arduousness of the revolutionary struggle, we must not exaggerate or glorify the sufferings involved. The cruelty in revolutionary war and revolutionary heroism, the arduousness of the revolutionary struggle and revolutionary optimism constitute a unity of opposites, but we must be clear about which is the principal aspect of the contradiction; otherwise, if we make the wrong emphasis, a bourgeois pacifist trend will emerge. Moreover, while depicting our people's revolutionary war, whether in the stage in which guerrilla warfare was primary and mobile warfare supplementary, or in the stage in which mobile warfare was primary, we must correctly show the relationship between the regular forces, the guerrillas and the people's militia and between the armed masses and the unarmed masses under the leadership of the Party.

Regarding the selection of subject-matter, only when we plunge into the thick of life and do a good job of investigation and study can we make the selection properly and correctly. Playwrights should unreservedly plunge into the flaming struggle of life for a long period. Directors, actors and actresses, cameramen, painters and composers should also go into the thick of life and make serious investigations and studies. In the past, some works distorted the historical facts, concentrating on the portrayal of erroneous lines instead of the correct line; some described heroic characters who nevertheless invariably violate discipline, or created heroes only to have them die in a contrived tragic ending; other works do not present heroic characters but only "middle" characters who are actually backward people, or caricatures of workers, peasants or soldiers; in depicting the enemy, they fail to expose his class nature as an exploiter and oppressor of the people, and even glamorize him; still others are concerned only with love and romance, pandering to philistine tastes and claiming that love and death are the eternal themes. All such bourgeois and revisionist trash must be resolutely opposed.

(10) Re-educate the cadres in charge of the work of literature and art and reorganize the ranks of writers and artists. For historical reasons, before the whole country was liberated it was rather difficult for us proletarians to train our own workers in literature and art in the areas under enemy rule. Our cultural level was relatively low and our experience limited. Many of our workers in literature and art had received a bourgeois education. In the course of their revolutionary activities in literature and art, some failed to pass the test of enemy persecution and turned traitor, while others failed to resist the corrosive influence of bourgeois ideas and became rotten.

In the base areas, we trained a considerable number of revolutionary workers in literature and art. Especially after the publication of the *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*, they had the correct orientation, embarked on the path of integration with the workers, peasants and soldiers, and played a positive role in the revolution. The weakness was that, after the country was liberated and we entered the big cities, many comrades failed to resist the corrosion of bourgeois ideology in the ranks of our writers and artists, with the result that some of them have fallen out in the course of advance. Ours is the literature and art of the proletariat, the literature and art of the Party. The principle of proletarian Party spirit is the outstanding feature distinguishing us from other classes. It must be understood that representatives of other classes also have their principle of party spirit, and that they are very stubborn too. We must firmly adhere to the principle of proletarian party spirit and combat the corrosion of bourgeois ideology in ideas about creative work, in the organizational line and in the style of work. As for bourgeois ideology, we must draw a clear line of demarcation and must on no account enter into peaceful coexistence with it. A variety of problems now exist in literary and art circles which, for most people, are problems of ideological understanding and of raising such understanding through education. We must earnestly study Chairman Mao's works, creatively study and apply them, tie up what we learn from them with our own thinking and practice and study them with specific problems in mind. Only in this way can we really understand, grasp and master Chairman Mao's thought. We must plunge into the thick of life for a long period of time, integrate ourselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers to raise our class consciousness, remould our ideology and wholeheartedly serve the people without any regard for personal fame or gain. It is necessary to teach our comrades to study Marxism-Leninism and Chairman Mao's works and to remain revolutionary all their lives, and pay special attention to the maintenance of proletarian integrity in later life, which is not at all easy.

III

By taking part in the forum, we have acquired a relatively clear understanding of all the questions mentioned above, and our opinions on them now correspond with the realities in the work in literature and art among the armed forces. As a result, the level of our political consciousness has been raised, and our determination to carry out the socialist cultural revolution and our sense of responsibility in this respect have likewise been strengthened. We will continue to study Chairman Mao's works conscientiously, make serious investigations and studies and do well in our cultivation of "experimental plots" and the production of good models, so as to take the lead in the current struggle of the cultural revolution to foster proletarian ideology and liquidate bourgeois ideology.

On the Revolution in Peking Opera

Speech Made in July 1964 at Forum of Theatrical Workers Participating
In the Festival of Peking Operas on Contemporary Themes

CHIANG CHING

I OFFER you my congratulations on this festival, for which you have worked so hard. This is the first campaign in the revolution of Peking Opera. It has achieved promising results and will have a relatively far-reaching influence.

Peking Opera on revolutionary contemporary themes has now been staged. But do we all look at it in the same way? I don't think we can say so yet.

We must have unshakable confidence in the staging of Peking Operas on revolutionary contemporary themes. It is inconceivable that, in our socialist country led by the Chinese Communist Party, the dominant position on the stage is not occupied by the workers, peasants and soldiers, who are the real creators of history and the true masters of our country. We must create literature and art which protect our socialist economic base. When we are not clear about our orientation, we must try our best to find the right orientation. Here I would like to give two groups of figures for your reference. These figures strike me as shocking.

Here is the first group: according to a rough estimate, there are 3,000 theatrical troupes in the country (not including amateur troupes and unlicensed companies). Of these, around 90 are professional modern drama companies, 80-odd are cultural troupes, and the rest, over 2,800, are companies staging various kinds of operas. Our operatic stage is occupied by emperors and kings, generals and ministers, scholars and beauties, and, on top of these, ghosts and monsters! As for those 90 modern drama companies, they don't necessarily all depict the workers, peasants and soldiers either. They, too, lay stress on staging full-length plays, foreign plays and plays on ancient themes. Therefore we can say that the modern drama stage is also occupied by ancient Chinese and foreign figures. Theatres are places in which to educate the people, but now the stage is dominated by emperors and kings, generals and ministers, scholars and beauties—by feudal and bourgeois stuff. This state of affairs cannot serve to protect our economic base but will undermine it.

Here is the second group of figures: there are well over 600 million workers, peasants and soldiers in our country, whereas there is only a handful of landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements, Rightists and bourgeois elements. Are we to serve this handful, or the well over 600 million? This question calls for consideration not only by Communists but also by all those literary and art workers who are patriotic. The grain we eat is grown by the

peasants, the clothes we wear and the houses we live in are made by the workers, and the People's Liberation Army stands guard at the fronts of national defence for us and yet we do not portray them. May I ask which class stand you artists take? And where is the artists' "conscience" you always talk about?

For Peking Opera to present revolutionary contemporary themes will not be all plain sailing, there will be reverses; but if you consider carefully the two groups of figures I have mentioned above, there may be no reverses, or at least fewer of them. Even if there are reverses, it won't matter, because history always goes forward on a zigzag course but its wheels can never be made to turn backwards. It is our view that opera on revolutionary contemporary themes must reflect real life in the 15 years since the founding of our Chinese People's Republic, and that images of contemporary revolutionary heroes must be created on our operatic stage. This is our foremost task. This is not to say that we don't want historical operas. Revolutionary historical operas have formed no small proportion of the programme of the present festival. Historical operas portraying the life and struggles of the people before our Party came into being are also needed. Moreover, we need to foster some pace-setters, to produce some historical operas which are really written from the standpoint of historical materialism and which can make the ancient serve the present. Of course, we should take up historical operas only on the condition that the carrying out of the main task (that of portraying contemporary life and creating images of workers, peasants and soldiers) is not impeded. This is not to say that we don't want any traditional operas either. Except for those about ghosts and those extolling capitulation and betrayal, good traditional operas can all be staged. But these traditional operas will have no audience worth mentioning unless they are earnestly re-edited and revised. I have made systematic visits to theatres for more than two years and my observation of both actors and audiences led me to this conclusion. In the future, the editing and revising of traditional operas is necessary, but this work should not replace our foremost task.

I will next discuss the question of where to make a start.

I think scripts are the crux of the matter. If you have only directors and actors and no scripts there is nothing to be directed or acted. People say that scripts form the basis of theatrical productions. I think that is quite true. Therefore attention must be devoted to creative writing.

In the last few years the writing of new plays has lagged far behind real life. This is even more true in the writing of libretti for Peking Opera. Playwrights are few and they lack experience of life, so it is only natural that good scripts are not being written. The key to tackling the problem of creative writing is the formation of a three-way combination of the leadership, the professional theatrical artists and the masses. Recently, I studied the way in which the play *Great Wall Along the Southern Sea* was produced and I found that they did it exactly like this. First the leadership set the theme. Then the playwrights went three times to acquire experience of life, even taking part in a military operation to round up enemy spies. When the script was written, many leading members of the Kwangchow (Canton) military command took part in discussions on it, and after it had been rehearsed, opinions were widely canvassed and revisions made. In this way, as a result of constantly asking for opinions and constantly making revisions they succeeded in turning out in a fairly short time a good topical play reflecting a real life struggle.

In the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee it was Comrade Ko Ching-shih who personally took a firm grasp of this problem of creative writing. All localities must appoint competent cadres to handle the question of creative writing.

It will be difficult for some time yet to create libretti directly for Peking Opera. Nevertheless, people have to be appointed right now to do the job. They must first be given some special training and then go out to get some experience of life. They can begin by writing something short and gradually go on to full-length operas. Short works, if well written, are also very valuable.

In creative writing, new forces must be cultivated. Send them out into the world and in three to five years they will blossom and bear fruit.

Another good way to get scripts is by adaptation.

Theatrical items for adaptation must be carefully chosen. First, we must see whether or not they are good politically and secondly whether or not they suit the conditions of the company concerned. Serious analysis of the original must be made when adapting it, its good points must be affirmed and not changed, while its weak points must be made good. In adapting for Peking Opera attention must be paid to two main questions: on the one hand the adaptations must be in keeping with the characteristics of Peking Opera, having singing and acrobatics, and words which fit the rhyme schemes of Peking Opera singing. The language used must be that of Peking Opera. Otherwise, the performers will not be able to sing. On the other hand, excessive concessions should not be made to the performers. An opera must have a clear-cut theme with a tightly knit structure and characters that stand out. There should be no digression or slowing down of the action to afford all the principal performers good parts.

Peking Opera uses artistic exaggeration. At the same time, it has always depicted ancient times and people belonging to those times. Therefore, it is

comparatively easy for Peking Opera to portray negative characters and there are some people who like this. On the other hand, it is very difficult to create positive characters, and yet we must create advanced revolutionary heroes. In the original version of the opera *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold* produced by the Shanghai troupe the negative characters were blatant, while the positive characters were quite colourless. Since the leadership attended to this question personally, this opera has been definitely improved. Now, the scene about the Taoist Ting Ho has been cut. The part of the bandit leader, Eagle, basically has not been altered (the actor who plays the part acts very well), but since the roles of Yang Tzu-jung and Shao Chien-po have been made prominent, the negative characters by comparison have paled. I heard that there are different views on this opera. Debates can be conducted on this subject. You must consider which side you stand on, the side of the positive or the negative characters. I heard that there are still people who oppose writing about positive characters. This is wrong. Good people are always the vast majority. This is true not only in our socialist countries but even in imperialist countries, where the vast majority are labouring people. In revisionist countries, the revisionists are still only a minority. We should place the emphasis on creating artistic images of advanced revolutionaries so as to educate and inspire the people and lead them forward. Our purpose in producing operas on contemporary revolutionary themes is mainly to extol the positive characters. The opera *Little Heroic Sisters on the Grassland* performed by the Peking Opera Troupe of the Inner Mongolian Art Theatre is very good. The librettists' revolutionary feeling was inspired by the advanced deeds of the two little heroines and this opera was written. The middle section of the opera is very moving, but because the librettists still lack experience of real life, worked in haste and had no time for careful polishing, the opening and closing scenes are not so good. As it is now, it looks like a fine painting placed in a crude old frame. There is another point which merits attention: a Peking Opera has been written for our children. In short, this opera has a firm foundation and is good. I hope that the writers will go back to experience the life of the people and do their best to perfect the script. In my opinion we should treasure the fruits of our labour, and shouldn't scrap them lightly. Some comrades are unwilling to revise their works, but this prevents them from making comparatively big achievements. In this respect, the Shanghai artists have set us a good example. Because they have been willing to polish their scripts over and over again, they have made *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold* the success it is today. All the items in the repertory of the present festival should be given further polishing when you go back. The items which have stood up well in the festival should not be knocked down lightly.

In conclusion, I hope that all of you will make the effort to learn one another's items so that audiences throughout the country will be able to see this festival's achievements.

Peking Mass Rally Commemorates

25th Anniversary of Chairman Mao's 'Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art'

Greeting the World's Advance into the Great New Epoch of Mao Tse-tung's Thought

SIXTEEN thousand representatives of Peking's literary and art circles, workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary teachers and students and revolutionary cadres held a mass rally on May 23 at the magnificent Great Hall of the People in commemoration of the 25th anniversary of the publication of Chairman Mao's brilliant work—*Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art*. The meeting took place at a time when the great proletarian cultural revolution personally initiated and led by our great leader Chairman Mao has already won big successes and the situation is excellent, and when the whole world is entering a completely new historical epoch in which Mao Tse-tung's thought is the great banner.

The meeting was attended by Comrade Lin Piao, the close comrade-in-arms of our great leader Chairman Mao, and by responsible comrades of the Party Central Committee and the departments concerned, including Comrades Chou En-lai, Chen Po-ta, Kang Sheng, Li Fu-chun, Tung Pi-wu, Li Hsien-nien, Nieh Jung-chen, Hsieh Fu-chih, Liu Ning-I, Chiang Ching, Hsiao Hua, Yang Cheng-wu, Su Yu, Tsai Chang, Teng Ying-chao, Kuo Mo-jo, Wang Li, Kuan Feng, Chi Pen-yu, Yeh Chun, Wu Teh and Wang Tung-hsing.

Held soon after the publication of the May 16, 1966 Circular of the Party Central Committee, the rally marked another important event in the political life of China. It was a splendid review of the brilliant victories won by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line on literature and art, a solemn pledge to seize still bigger victories in the great proletarian cultural revolution. At a time when this revolution is entering the stage of decisive battle and when proletarian revolutionaries throughout the country are forging alliances to launch a general offensive against the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, this rally of far-reaching political and great practical significance will certainly bring tremendous inspiration and strength to China's revolutionary literary and art workers and her hundreds of millions of revolutionary people.

The Great Hall of the People was alive with the participants' sincere revolutionary sentiments for the great leader Chairman Mao—infinite love, respect,

loyalty and veneration. It also overflowed with their powerful militant determination to thoroughly criticize and repudiate the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. A huge portrait in colour of Chairman Mao, who is the red sun that shines most brightly in the hearts of the revolutionary people of China and the whole world, flanked by ten red banners, hung above the centre of the rostrum. Opposite were two red streamers with the slogans written in big characters: "Revolutionary literary and art workers must go among the worker, peasant and soldier masses, and go into the heat of struggle unconditionally, wholeheartedly and for a long period of time to learn from the workers, peasants and soldiers and integrate themselves with them!" and "Hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, resolutely carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art, thoroughly smash the sinister, counter-revolutionary revisionist line on literature and art!" Again and again the participants in the hall recited quotations from Chairman Mao's works and sang the song "Rely on the Helmsman When Sailing the Seas".

The audience rose to its feet, applauded thunderously and shouted prolonged cheers of "Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!" as Comrade Lin Piao, the close comrade-in-arms of our great leader Chairman Mao, and Comrades Chou En-lai, Chen Po-ta, Kang Sheng, Li Fu-chun and Chiang Ching mounted the rostrum.

The rally was presided over by Comrade Chiang Ching, first deputy-leader of the Cultural Revolution Group under the Party Central Committee. It opened with the entire hall singing the *Internationale*.

In the midst of stormy applause, Comrade Chen Po-ta, member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee and leader of the Cultural Revolution Group under the Party Central Committee, made an important speech (see p. 41). He was followed by Comrade Chi Pen-yu, who made a speech entitled "Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art* Is a Programme for Building a Mighty Proletarian Cultural Army" (see p. 47).



Leading comrades at the meeting to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the Yanan Talks. In the front row are Chairman Mao's close comrade-in-arms, Comrade Lin Piao (third from right), and Comrade Chou En-lai (third left), Comrade Chen Po-ta (first right), Comrade Kang Sheng (second left), Comrade Li Fu-chun (first left) and Comrade Chiang Ching (second right).

The two speakers were enthusiastically applauded by the audience, who shouted "Long live the victory of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art!" and "Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!"

Chin Ching-mai, author of the book *The Song of Ouyang Hai*, Yu Hui-yung, composer of the music for the revolutionary Peking Operas *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold* and *On the Docks*, Chung Jun-liang, a performer in the revolutionary ballet *The Red Detachment of Women*, and Chen Ju-tang, conductor of the revolutionary symphonic music *Shachiapang*, also spoke. They all hailed the great victories won by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art and expressed their determination to take the *Talks* as their guide to completely smash the sinister counter-revolutionary revisionist line on literature and art and to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

Also on the rostrum were responsible members of the Party, government and armed forces, the Standing Committee members and members of the Peking Revolutionary Committee, and representatives from various fields of work and from the many units which produced the eight revolutionary exemplary works *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold*, *On the Docks*, *The Red Lantern*, *Shachiapang*, *Raid on the White Tiger Regiment*, *The Red Detachment of Women*, *The White-haired Girl* and the symphonic music *Shachiapang*.

Amid deafening applause and cheers of "Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!" the rally unanimously adopted a message of salute to Chairman Mao (see p. 38) and ended triumphantly with the singing of "Rely on the Helmsman When Sailing the Seas".

In Peking's Great Hall of the People, proletarian revolutionaries, revolutionary cultural workers and revolutionary masses applaud heartily in approval of the message of salute to our great leader Chairman Mao.



Message of Salute to Chairman Mao

Most Respected and Beloved Chairman Mao:

In the course of the great battle for the thoroughgoing criticism and repudiation of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, we proletarian revolutionaries in the capital have gathered at this grand meeting to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the publication of your brilliant work, *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*. With feelings of profound esteem, respect and fervour, we extend the loftiest, militant salute of the great proletarian cultural revolution to you, our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman! At the tops of our voices we cheer: Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to you!

Your great work, the *Talks*, makes a most deep-going criticism and repudiation of the reactionary ideological trend appearing in the struggle between the two roads on the cultural front. It maps out the most complete, most thorough, most correct and most revolutionary proletarian line on literature and art for the revolutionary literature and art workers of China and the whole world; it sets out the great programme for building a mighty army of the proletarian cultural revolution. It raises the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and the Marxist-Leninist theory on literature and art to a totally new stage. It is the powerful ideological weapon for the eradication of all reactionary culture; it is the guide to action for the revolutionary literature and art workers and revolutionary intellectuals in the transformation of their world outlook.

However, the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists he backed—Peng Chen, Lu Ting-yi, Chou Yang and Hsia Yen—have frantically opposed and vilified your *Talks*. Operating through the old Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the old Ministry of Culture and the old Peking Municipal Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, which were under their control, and using the propaganda positions they usurped, they went all-out to spread poison, opposing literature and art which serve the workers, peasants and soldiers and proletarian politics and actively beating the drum and clearing the way for the restoration of capitalism. In the more than ten years since the founding of our People's Republic, the sinister line in culture and art represented by these reactionaries has exercised dictatorship over us in the literary and art circles.

We shall never forget that over the past 17 years you have given a series of brilliant instructions guiding the struggle between the two roads on the literary and art front, that you have personally launched and led every important struggle of criticism and repudiation, as a result of which one position after another

has been recovered from the hands of the bourgeoisie and its agents, and one brilliant victory after another has been won!

It is you who have, with the most outstanding Marxist-Leninist wisdom and genius as well as the most tremendous courage and vigour, launched the great proletarian cultural revolution, unprecedented in history. In the course of this, China's Khrushchov hiding in the Party and the handful of persons within the Party who were in authority and taking the capitalist road have been exposed, the counter-revolutionary revisionist bosses who have usurped the leadership in literary and art circles have been rooted out, the "gods of hell" have been overthrown, the "little goblins" under their oppression have been freed, and the death knell has sounded for the sinister line of revisionism in literature and art.

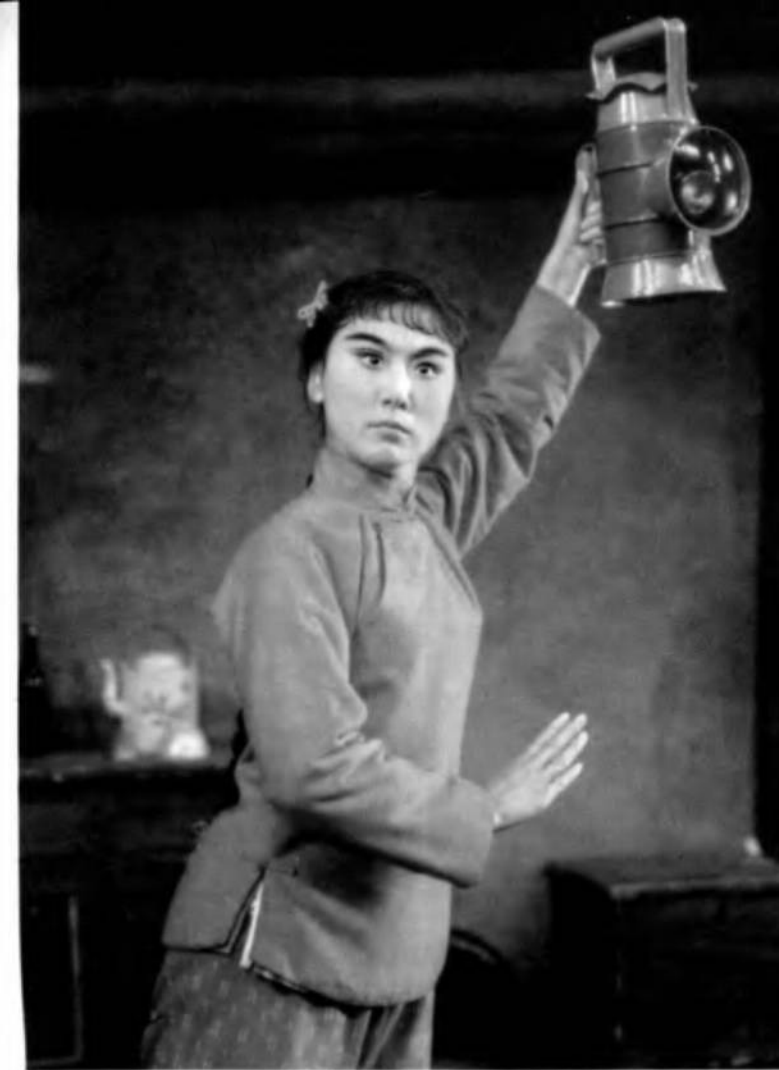
Chairman Mao, our Chairman Mao! We, the proletarian revolutionaries in literary and art circles, with the close attention and under the guidance of Comrade Chiang Ching, have correctly put into practice your brilliant thought and have created outstanding models of proletarian literature and art like the revolutionary Peking Operas on contemporary themes—*Taking the Bandits' Stronghold*, *On the Docks*, *The Red Lantern*, *Shachiapang* and *Raid on the White Tiger Regiment*—the revolutionary ballets—*The Red Detachment of Women* and *The White-haired Girl*—and the revolutionary symphonic work *Shachiapang*, and we have thus won a great victory that shakes the whole arena of art, that shakes all China and the entire world, and sounds the clarion call for the great proletarian cultural revolution. This is a great victory for the revolutionary line in literature and art of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers which you have laid down, as well as a great victory for your *Talks*.

Most respected and beloved Chairman Mao! We give you our pledge that we will seriously study and apply your *Talks* and all your directives, that we will thoroughly criticize and repudiate the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, thoroughly criticize and repudiate the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionist elements in literary and art circles, thoroughly criticize and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois "authorities" and utterly destroy all the pernicious influence of the bourgeois reactionary line. At the same time as we carry out large-scale criticism and repudiation, we undertake to do an even better job of struggle-criticism-transformation in our own organizations, to unite with the great majority of the cadres and masses, and resolutely carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!

Chairman Mao, the very red sun which shines most brightly in our hearts! We, revolutionary workers in literature and art, will without fail keep in

THE RED LANTERN

A revolutionary Peking Opera on a contemporary theme which depicts how during the War of Resistance Against Japan, three generations of Communist railroad worker Li Yu-ho's family heroically struggle against the Japanese invaders.



Left: Li Tieh-mei takes over the red lantern and pledges to be a staunch successor to the revolutionary cause.

Below: Li Yu-ho angrily denounces the Japanese aggressor who tries to make him surrender. His Communist heroism overwhelms any form of enticement or threat by the enemy.





In jail, Li Yu-ho, his mother and daughter will not yield and fight staunchly against the enemy.

Li Tieh-mei (centre), fulfilling her father's will under the protection of the comrades, safely brings the secret code to the guerillas in the northern mountains.



mind the earnest and patient way in which you exhorted us in the *Talks*: "All revolutionary artists and writers of China, all artists and writers of promise, must for long periods of time unreservedly and whole-heartedly go into the midst of the masses, into the midst of the workers, peasants and soldiers. . . ." We will set in motion a vigorous movement to go right among the workers, peasants and soldiers, to factories, to the countryside and to army companies to live there for long periods of time and learn earnestly from the workers, peasants and soldiers. We will creatively study and apply your works and thoroughly remould our world outlook in the heat of class struggle. We will throw overboard all considerations of seeking fame and material gains. We will make a thorough transformation of all the ideas, sentiments and styles of work that are at variance with those of the proletariat. We will, throughout our lives, serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, proletarian politics and the dictatorship of the proletariat!

Our most respected and beloved Chairman Mao! Without fail we will follow the teachings set forth in your *Talks*, wield our pens as swords and spears and plunge valiantly into the battle to bury completely all that is bourgeois, feudal and revisionist! We will create new and original socialist and proletarian works! We will extol proletarian heroes and raise our voices to sing the praise of the socialist revolution and socialist construction, so that the heroic image of workers, peasants and soldiers armed with your brilliant thought will always dominate the stage of literature and art and so that our literature and

art will really become "powerful weapons for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and destroying the enemy".

Most respected and beloved Chairman Mao! We are happy and proud to be your fighters on the literary and art front. We are determined always to bear in mind your teaching: "It should not be thought by any Party member or any one of the people in our country that everything will be all right after one or two great cultural revolutions, or even three or four. We must be on the alert and never lose vigilance." After the sinister line which exists at present in literature and art is destroyed, another will appear in the future and we will have to struggle again. We will always be Red Guards for your revolutionary line on literature and art. Whenever a revisionist sinister line appears in literature and art, we will take the initiative to rebel against it, launch an offensive against it, and raise a hurricane to pull it up by the roots!

Most respected and beloved Chairman Mao! We will always be loyal to you, to your thought and to your revolutionary line. Led by you—our great supreme commander—we will carry on the long march of the proletarian cultural revolution!

We heartily wish you a long life, a long, long life!

The Rally in the Capital to Commemorate the 25th Anniversary of the Publication of Chairman Mao's 'Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art'

Commemorating the 25th Anniversary of Chairman Mao's 'Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art'

CHEN PO-TA

Comrades:

The world is entering an entirely new historical epoch. It is a new epoch in which the masters are the workers, peasants and soldiers and the great banner is the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

The *Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art* by our great teacher Comrade Mao Tse-tung 25 years ago foretold that the new era, in which the workers, peasants and soldiers would be the masters, would soon dawn over China, just as it would, after various developments, soon dawn over every country in the world.

This great work of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's is a summation of the great polemic which took place

25 years ago on questions concerning literature and art but in essence belonging to the realm of politics. It summed up the great debate, centring on the fundamental political issue of our times, of whether to take a positive or negative attitude towards the workers, peasants and soldiers.

This great work is an epoch-making political manifesto of our Party for remoulding the Party, and the whole world, in the image of the vanguard of the proletariat. It solves the question of world outlook for all who wish to become proletarian revolutionaries, solves the question of whether many Communists who have joined the Party organizationally have joined it ideologically, and points out to all Communists and all

revolutionaries the bright road of integration with the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers.

This great work is not confined to questions of literature and art but, proceeding from the proletarian world outlook, sums up the experience of struggle on the literary and art front. It is the first encyclopaedia of answers in history to the questions of literature and art; it represents a great all-round Marxist-Leninist revolution in literature and art and is our compass and programme in our current great proletarian cultural revolution.

In essence, this great work is also an ideological weapon for the oppressed classes and oppressed peoples of the world in their great political struggles against imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction, the bugle call for revolutionaries of all countries in their ideological and political struggle against the imperialists, modern revisionists and all reactionaries.

In his letter on the revolution in Peking Opera, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: **"History is made by the people, yet the old opera (and all the old literature and art, which are divorced from the people) presents the people as though they were dirt, and the stage is dominated by lords and ladies and their pampered sons and daughters."** And Comrade Mao Tse-tung held that **this reversal of history had to be reversed.**

The labouring people, the creators of history, the workers, the peasants, the soldiers who are armed workers and peasants, must dominate the scene in literature and art as well as in politics and economics. This was Comrade Mao Tse-tung's conclusion.

In class society, without exception the struggles on the cultural and ideological fronts, including the struggle on the front of literature and art, are class struggles. They are one form of class struggle.

As Marx and Engels stated in the *Communist Manifesto*, all class struggles are political struggles.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung threw all the bourgeois supra-class and supra-politics rubbish into the dustbin. He thoroughly criticized and repudiated the reactionary dualism or pluralism of Trotsky's so-called "politics—Marxist, art—bourgeois". Comrade Mao Tse-tung held that supra-class politics simply does not exist and there is no such thing as literature and art independent of class politics. On questions of literature and art, as on all other questions, he consistently expounded the monistic proletarian world outlook. He was absolutely correct in pointing out that **"all culture, all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines. There is in fact no such thing as art for art's sake, art that stands above classes, art that is detached from or independent of politics."**

Comrade Mao Tse-tung developed Lenin's thesis on Party literature. He said that all revolutionary writers must carry out the correct proletarian political line of our Party and take the stand of the proletariat if they really wish to serve the workers, peasants and soldiers and the revolutionary people.

Obviously, unless a revolutionary writer carries out the Party's correct proletarian political line and

strives to keep to the proletarian world outlook, he will not come close to the worker, peasant and soldier masses or participate in their actual revolutionary struggles. As a result, he will not be able to depict the workers, peasants and soldiers correctly, nor will he be able in his turn to educate them correctly; what is more, he will run counter to their cause.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung tells us: **"Proletarian literature and art are part of the whole proletarian revolutionary cause"** and **"literature and art are subordinate to politics, but in their turn exert a great influence on politics."** The influence of proletarian politics on literature and art, and the influence which proletarian literature and art in turn exert on proletarian politics, is bound to be a long-term process; it will continue all through the long struggle of the proletariat till victory in the revolution, all through the long period of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The great proletarian cultural revolution in our country is not accidental. Though we have won victory in the proletarian revolution and brought into being the dictatorship of the proletariat, we must in no circumstances underestimate the influence of the landlord and capitalist classes. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung has repeatedly taught us, classes and class struggle continue to exist in socialist society, and the struggle still goes on between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat and between the socialist road and the capitalist road. The struggle to safeguard the fruits of the proletarian revolution and oppose the restoration of capitalism is a serious one. The landlord and capitalist classes have forfeited political power and the feudal and capitalist system of ownership. But they are still powerful in the field of culture, ideology, and literature and art. Their literature and art, which have a long history and provide a strong medium of expression for these exploiting classes, still have a market among the masses. It is impossible to shake off at one go this long-standing influence in the field of culture and ideology, and literature and art, after the overthrow of the rule of the landlord and capitalist classes and of international capital by the labouring masses under the leadership of the proletariat. The landlord and capitalist classes, with their close links with international capital, try in every possible way to maintain, consolidate and contend with us for positions in this field, so as to corrupt our masses and our revolutionary cadres. They are using peaceful evolution as a means of enabling the international imperialist forces that formerly enslaved our people to make a comeback and transform our political power, the political power of the proletariat to dispossess the exploiters, back into the political power of the exploiters, of the landlord and capitalist classes, and to transform our socialist state property, our socialist collective property, back into the property of the bloodsuckers, so that they will once again be able to oppress and exploit the people and push them back into the abyss of misery.

While the landlord and capitalist classes and international capital day in and day out dream of regaining their lost paradise, the petty bourgeoisie ceaselessly generates new bourgeois elements. The

petty bourgeoisie is characterized by very serious vacillation. The landlord and capitalist classes invariably take advantage of this vacillation, and likewise of the vacillation of the bourgeois intellectuals and quite a number of our cultural, ideological and literary and art workers in order to usurp our positions in the field of culture, ideology and literature and art, and facilitate their activities for a counter-revolutionary restoration. As a matter of fact, some of these positions have remained as of old, while some others have been seized from us.

Comrade Chiang Ching has consistently kept to and defended Chairman Mao's line of revolution in literature and art. She has always fought in the van. In recent years, exerting the greatest efforts, she has set up a series of revolutionary models in the field of drama, music and the dance, driving all kinds of ghosts and monsters out of the arena of literature and art, and has built up the heroic images of the worker, peasant and soldier masses. And together with Comrade Chiang Ching, many of the workers in literature and art, guided by Mao Tse-tung's thought, have become trailblazers in the revolution in literature and art. In addition to this, the great importance of the efforts made by many revolutionary workers in the field of culture and ideology against the restoration of capitalism is perfectly clear.

Before the proletariat seizes political power, the revolutionary workers in culture, ideology, and literature and art serve the workers, peasants and soldiers in life-and-death struggles, the sole aim being to seize proletarian victory and proletarian political power through the various stages of the revolution (from the stage of the democratic revolution to that of the socialist revolution). After the proletariat seizes political power, under the dictatorship of the proletariat the revolutionary workers in literature and art, culture and ideology serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, the sole aim being to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and achieve the forward leap of socialism in continued revolutionary advance.

And after the proletariat seizes political power, the most practical and fundamental problem confronting us is whether this political power can be maintained, consolidated and strengthened.

In 1949, on the eve of nationwide liberation, Comrade Mao Tse-tung reminded our whole Party of **the imperative necessity to guard against the attacks of the enemy using sugar-coated bullets.**

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's foresight was both scientific and brilliant.

The enemy has a variety of sugar-coated bullets. He knows very well how to use such sugar-coated bullets as "literature and art". The bourgeoisie makes use of the old ideas, culture, customs and habits of the exploiting classes to "conquer people's minds" and thus weaken the dictatorship of the proletariat and pave the way for a counter-revolutionary restoration.

At the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party in 1962, Comrade

Mao Tse-tung specially raised and emphasized the thesis of **the continued existence of classes, class contradiction and class struggle in socialist society**, in order to counter the "go it alone" trend stirred up by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. He also pointed out: **to overthrow a political power, it is always necessary first of all to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class.**

It is true to say that both the revolutionary and the counter-revolutionary classes invariably create public opinion in preparation for the seizure of political power. This is an important law of history expounded by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. It holds good, without any exception, for the history of all class struggles, in China and abroad, and in ancient and modern times.

And this preparation of public opinion includes literature and art.

Ever since the liberation of the whole country, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has given consistent attention to the question of the proletarian cultural revolution. He has consistently linked the struggles of the proletariat on the political and economic fronts with those on the cultural and ideological fronts. All the major questions on the cultural and ideological fronts in the last 17 years—beginning with the criticism of the film of national betrayal, *Inside Story of the Ching Court*, the obsequious film *The Life of Wu Hsun* and the idealist *Studies of "The Dream of the Red Chamber"*—were all raised by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. Today it is imperative for us once more to study the article *Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art* and the whole series of militant writings by Comrade Mao Tse-tung concerning ideology and literature and art. These writings of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's, produced since China's liberation, call for the liquidation of the forces of habit and the influence of the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes and, in the final analysis, for the prevention of a capitalist restoration and consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

If a genuine Communist takes the questions of ideology and of literature and art lightly, or even for a moment ignores Comrade Mao Tse-tung's teachings on these questions, he will make grave political errors, may sink into the quagmire of the bourgeoisie and degenerate without being aware of it politically, may become a counter-revolutionary revisionist like the members of the Khrushchov clique in the Soviet Union, and may even join in the evil work of the representatives of the bourgeoisie who worm their way into the Party, scheming for a counter-revolutionary capitalist restoration by all sorts of trickery.

Doesn't everything mercilessly reveal all this and prove it to be true? Yes, it does, absolutely.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has repeatedly sounded the alarm.

In December 1963, Comrade Mao Tse-tung severely criticized the weaknesses in the work of our art circles, describing it as "absurd" that the handful

of persons in authority within the Party taking the capitalist road were "enthusiastic about promoting feudal and capitalist art, but not socialist art". He said:

"Problems abound in all forms of art such as the drama, ballads, music, the fine arts, the dance, the cinema, poetry and literature, and the people involved are numerous; in many departments very little has been achieved so far in socialist transformation. The 'dead' still dominate many departments. What has been achieved in the cinema, new poetry, folk songs, the fine arts and the novel should not be underestimated, but there are also quite a few problems in these. As for such departments as the drama, the problems are even more serious. The social and economic base has changed, but the arts as part of the superstructure, which serve this base, still remain a serious problem. Hence we should undertake investigation and study and attend to this matter in earnest.

"Isn't it absurd that many Communists are enthusiastic about promoting feudal and capitalist art, but not socialist art?"

In June 1964 Comrade Mao Tse-tung gave the following warning to the "All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles" and various "associations" set up after the liberation:

"In the past 15 years these associations and most of their publications (a few are said to be good) by and large (this does not apply to every individual) have not carried out the policies of the Party, have acted as high and mighty bureaucrats, have not gone to the workers, peasants and soldiers and have not reflected the socialist revolution and construction. In recent years, they have even slid to the verge of revisionism. Unless they make serious efforts to remould themselves, they are bound at some future date to become groups like the Hungarian Petofi Club."

However, the handful of persons who acted as high and mighty bureaucrats were under the spell of the bourgeois and modern revisionist ideas. Comrade Mao Tse-tung's warnings went entirely unheeded by "those Party people in authority taking the capitalist road who support the bourgeois scholar-tyrants", "those bourgeois representatives who have sneaked into the Party and protect the bourgeois scholar-tyrants", those "big Party tyrants who have usurped the name of the Party, do not read books, do not read the daily press, have no contact with the masses, have no learning at all, and rely solely on 'acting arbitrarily and trying to overwhelm people with their power'" and those "men of culture" who have long soaked themselves to the marrow in bourgeois ideology. They still carried on desperate struggles along their own bourgeois and modern revisionist road. Then, 18 months later, in February 1966, Peng Chen went so far as to dish up his notorious revisionist "outline report of February". This "outline report" gave concentrated expression to the reactionary ideas of the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road.

Our proletarian thinker of genius, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, using his invincible scalpel of ma-

terialist dialectics, dissected Peng Chen's "outline report of February", fully revealed its despicable features and called on the whole Party to raise aloft the great banner of the proletarian cultural revolution. It was done in the Circular of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, issued on May 16, 1966.

In this great historic document, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out:

"There are a number of these (representatives of the bourgeoisie) in the Central Committee and in the Party, government and other departments at the central as well as at the provincial, municipal and autonomous region level."

The whole Party must "hold high the great banner of the proletarian cultural revolution, thoroughly expose the reactionary bourgeois stand of those so-called 'academic authorities' who oppose the Party and socialism, thoroughly criticize and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois ideas in the sphere of academic work, education, journalism, literature and art and publishing, and seize the leadership in these cultural spheres. To achieve this, it is necessary at the same time to criticize and repudiate those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and all spheres of culture, to clear them out or transfer some of them to other positions.

"Those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and various cultural circles are a bunch of counter-revolutionary revisionists. Once conditions are ripe, they will seize political power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Some of them we have already seen through, others we have not. Some are still trusted by us and are being trained as our successors, persons like Khrushchov, for example, who are still nestling beside us. Party committees at all levels must pay full attention to this matter."

The struggle was provoked by the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. However, the laws of history worked independently of their will. They lifted a rock only to drop it on their own feet.

Under the great banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, the great proletarian cultural revolution, unprecedented in history, is rising over China's vast land like the morning sun, and it shakes the whole world.

It is the immense political might of the proletariat that has generated the most powerful proletarian cultural revolutionary movement. And there is no doubt that this powerful proletarian cultural revolution will accelerate the progress of our history and usher in a new era of international proletarian revolutionary struggles.

The ever-growing great proletarian cultural revolution is a continuation and development of the great polemic on questions of literature and art which took place in the revolutionary base areas during the 1940's; it is a continuation and develop-



SHACHIAPANG

A revolutionary Peking Opera on a contemporary theme which portrays how 18 wounded fighters of a New Fourth Army unit during the War of Resistance Against Japan persist in struggle and finally wipe out the puppet troops in coordination with the main force of the people's army.

Left: In a heavy storm, political director Kuo Chien-kuang (front) encourages the wounded soldiers hiding in the reeds to fight on.

Below: The 18 wounded fighters, coordinating with the main force of the New Fourth Army, wipe out the puppet troops who pretend to fight Japan but actually fight the Communists. They hoist the red flag once again over Shachiapang.



RAID ON THE WHITE TIGER REGIMENT

A revolutionary Peking Opera on a contemporary theme which portrays how a unit of the Chinese People's Volunteers in the war to resist U.S. aggression in Korea raises high the red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and with courage and ingenuity wipes out the U.S. puppet "White Tiger Regiment".



Yang Wei-tsai (centre) heroically combats the enemy.

SHACHIAPANG: Political director Kuo Chien-kuang (*front*) leads the recovered wounded fighters in a sudden attack on Shachiapang.



SHACHIAPANG: Sister Ah-ching, underground Communist Party member and mistress of a teahouse, engages in a battle of wits with the enemy commander and his chief-of-staff to shield the wounded soldiers.



RAID ON THE WHITE TIGER REGIMENT: A regimental commander (*right*) of the Chinese volunteers in Korea gives squad leader Yang Wei-tsai the order to launch the surprise attack.

ment of the great ideological and political debates of that time in the new historical stage; it is the continuation and development of those debates under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has given full attention to the whole historical experience of the Soviet Union. In a succession of great works and directives, and in the great practice of the proletarian cultural revolution which he has initiated and is leading, he has correctly solved a whole series of these problems. This is a most important landmark, indicating that Marxism has developed to a completely new stage. In the early years of the 20th century, Marxism developed to the stage of Leninism. In the present era, it has developed to the stage of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Marx and Engels founded the theory of scientific socialism. Lenin and Stalin developed Marxism, solved a series of questions of the proletarian revolution in the era of imperialism and solved the theoretical and practical questions of realizing the dictatorship of the proletariat in one country. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has developed Marxism-Leninism, solved a series of questions of the proletarian revolution in the present era, and solved the theoretical and practical questions of carrying on the revolution and preventing a restoration of capitalism under the dictatorship of the proletariat. These are

three monumental milestones in the history of the development of Marxism.

In the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution, we must creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* and his series of documents and directives concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution, bring our struggle to a higher level on the basis of the experience already gained in the practice of this revolution during the last year, concentrate our criticism and repudiation on the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

Long live Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art!

Long live the great proletarian cultural revolution under the banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought!

Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat!

Long live the Chinese Communist Party!

Long live the infinitely brilliant thought of Mao Tse-tung!

Long live our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman Chairman Mao! A long life to him! A long, long life to him!

Chairman Mao's 'Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art' Is a Programme for Building a Mighty Proletarian Cultural Army

CHI PEN-YU

Comrades, friends, proletarian revolutionary comrades-in-arms, dear young Red Guard fighters!

Let us first wish our most respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao a long, long life! And lasting good health to Comrade Lin Piao, Chairman Mao's close comrade-in-arms!

I

Today is the 25th anniversary of the *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*, written by our most respected and beloved great leader Chair-

man Mao. These 25 years have been a period of momentous growth, one unprecedented in the thousands of years of history of our motherland. Who has led us in turning the oppressed, exploited, dark and impoverished, semi-feudal and semi-colonial old China into the independent, unified, sound and powerful socialist New China? It is our most respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao! It is he, the very red sun that shines most brightly in our hearts!

Chairman Mao is not only the great leader of the Chinese people but also the great leader of the revolutionary people of the world. As many prole-

tarian revolutionary comrades in the world today so correctly say, Chairman Mao is the Lenin of the present era.

Chairman Mao has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism with genius, creatively and comprehensively. Mao Tse-tung's thought is Marxism-Leninism at its highest level in the present era.

Since its birth, Marxism has gone through three great stages of development. The first stage was the stage of Marx and Engels, who established Marxism and worked out the theory of scientific socialism. The second stage was the stage of Leninism. When capitalism entered the era of imperialism, Lenin and Stalin developed Marxism, solved a series of questions of the proletarian revolution, especially those concerning the theory and practice of realizing the proletarian dictatorship in a single country. The third stage is the stage of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Mao Tse-tung's thought is Marxism-Leninism further developed in the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to worldwide victory. Our great leader Chairman Mao has creatively and with genius solved a series of important questions of the proletarian revolution in the present era, especially those concerning the theory and practice of carrying on the revolution and preventing a restoration of capitalism, in the historical period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and has thus brought Marxism-Leninism to a higher and completely new stage.

On the eve of the October Revolution, Lenin emphatically pointed out: **"Those who recognise only the class struggle are not yet Marxists; they may be found to be still within the bounds of bourgeois thinking and bourgeois politics."** **"A Marxist is solely someone who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat."** And today, no one is a genuine Marxist if he only pays lip service to the dictatorship of the proletariat but does not recognize that, in the historical period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, there is still the struggle between restoration and counter-restoration, the struggle between the efforts of the proletariat to defend its dictatorship and those of the bourgeoisie to overthrow this dictatorship. From what can be learnt from the emergence of modern revisionism and the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and from the historical experience internationally of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and in the light of the schemes for a capitalist restoration carried out by the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road in China, our great leader Chairman Mao has developed the Marxist-Leninist theory concerning the dictatorship of the proletariat, worked out the most complete revolutionary theory for opposing counter-revolutionary revisionism and defending the proletarian dictatorship and has personally aroused and led hundreds of millions of people in carrying out this unprecedented great proletarian cultural revolution, thereby making a great contribution in theory and practice to the international proletarian revolutionary movement.

Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art is a great Marxist-Leninist work that shines with dazzling radiance in the splendid treasure-house of Mao Tse-tung's thought. It is the most complete, most systematic and most correct programme for the great proletarian cultural revolution, the first work of its kind in the history of the proletarian revolution. It is an embodiment of universal truth, a brilliant and epoch-making document in the history of human culture.

When this brilliant work was published in 1942, the anti-fascist war which was raging throughout the world and China's War of Resistance Against Japan were in their most bitter stage. It was at this time that a handful of anti-Party elements, Trotskyites and renegades such as Chou Yang, Wang Shih-wei and Ting Ling produced many poisonous weeds and made wild attacks on the Party. They viciously attacked the Party leadership, energetically advocated "freedom of creation", opposed the Marxist viewpoint of class struggle and publicized the bourgeois "theory of human nature" and "love of humanity". They opposed extolling the proletariat. In an attempt to incite others to come out and attack the Party and the people, they talked such nonsense as "even the sun has spots" and "the task of literature and art has always been to expose". Chou Yang, Wang Shih-wei, Ting Ling and others stirred up this anti-Party adverse current in the literary and art circles in Yen-an in coordination on the cultural front with the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries' wild attacks on the liberated areas. Its purpose was to disintegrate the revolutionary forces, to undermine the people's political power in the base areas and to sabotage the War of Resistance Against Japan.

At that time the Yen-an rectification campaign, which is well known in the history of our Party, was unfolding on a large scale, and the struggle between the two lines on the political, ideological and cultural fronts was very acute. The Yen-an forum on literature and art was an important component part of this great rectification campaign. The talks, which are of immense historic significance, were delivered by Chairman Mao at this forum and became the guide to the great Yen-an rectification campaign and to the building up of a political party of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. Chairman Mao's talks made a most penetrating criticism of the anti-Party adverse current and various bourgeois reactionary trends of thought, which were then appearing on the cultural front. Chairman Mao pointed out: **Proletarian literature and art are part of the whole proletarian revolutionary cause. The revolutionary literary and art forces are an army serving the political struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat.** Chairman Mao said: **"In our struggle for the liberation of the Chinese people there are various fronts, among which there are the fronts of the pen and of the gun, the cultural and the military fronts. To defeat the enemy we must rely primarily on the army with guns. But this army alone is not enough; we must also have a cultural army, which is absolutely indispensable for uniting our own ranks and defeating the enemy."** He also pointed out that pro-

letarian literature and art **"operate as powerful weapons for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and destroying the enemy, and that they help the people fight the enemy with one heart and one mind"** and that they are instruments for winning liberation and seizing political power. Chairman Mao's idea of regarding literary and art workers as an army serving the Chinese people's struggle for liberation has fundamentally solved the problem of the relationship between literature and art on the one hand and politics on the other. In his *Talks*, Chairman Mao also solved the problem of the general orientation of struggle for the mighty proletarian cultural army. He pointed out that **the fundamental orientation for proletarian literature and art is to serve the workers, peasants and soldiers.**

This proletarian revolutionary line on literature and art put forward by Chairman Mao clearly indicated to revolutionary literary and art workers the objectives of their fight and the orientation of their struggle, struck at the enemy's vitals and repulsed the frantic attacks by a handful of anti-Party elements, Trotskyites and renegades. In response to the call Chairman Mao made in his *Talks*, fine literary and art workers in the Liberated Areas went among the workers, peasants and soldiers to learn from them and portray them. They used literature and art as means to encourage the people and to attack and annihilate the enemy, thus performing meritorious service in the great cause of liberating the nation and the people and in the struggle to seize and consolidate the people's political power.

II

We are solemnly commemorating the 25th anniversary of Chairman Mao's great, epoch-making work *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* at a time when there is an upsurge in the great proletarian cultural revolution. This has a very important practical significance.

The victory of the socialist revolution, of the struggle of the proletariat to seize power, does not mean that class struggle has ended. On the eve of the liberation of the country, Chairman Mao said: **"After the enemies with guns have been wiped out, there will still be enemies without guns; they are bound to struggle desperately against us, and we must never regard these enemies lightly."** After the proletariat seizes power, class enemies which have been overthrown will always attempt to stage a counter-revolutionary come-back and the question of who will win is still not settled. In order to recapture their lost power, the exploiting classes will first of all create public opinion and prepare the ground ideologically for their attempt at a counter-revolutionary restoration. Literature and art are one of their advance positions for creating public opinion for their counter-revolutionary restoration and carrying out their scheme to usurp the leadership of the Party, the army and the government. The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists including Peng Chen, Lu Ting-yi, Chou Yang, Lin

Mo-han, Chi Yen-ming, Hsia Yen, Tien Han and Teng To, who usurped the leadership in cultural circles, took control of the old Propaganda Department of the Party Central Committee, the old Ministry of Culture, the old Peking Municipal Party Committee and the associations under the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles. They held the leadership in many (not all) cultural and publishing institutions and they turned these institutions and organizations into revisionist clubs, into tools of the bourgeoisie for opposing the Party and socialism.

Our wise and great leader long ago saw through the conspiratorial activities of this handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists. Between 1963 and 1964, Chairman Mao pointed out on many occasions that, since liberation, various departments in culture and art, including literature, the drama, the cinema, balladry, music, the fine arts and the dance, and the art academies and schools **"by and large (this does not apply to every individual) have not carried out the policies of the Party, have acted as high and mighty bureaucrats, have not gone to the workers, peasants and soldiers and have not reflected the socialist revolution and construction"**. He said, **"the 'dead' still dominate"** many departments. Our stage was not dominated by workers, peasants and soldiers. Instead, it was dominated by emperors and kings, generals and ministers, scholars and beauties, ghosts and monsters. We were subjected here to the dictatorship of feudalism, capitalism and revisionism. Particularly during the period of the country's economic difficulties between 1959 and 1962, the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists, supported by the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, took the opportunity to put out a large number of poisonous weeds such as *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office*, *Hsieh Yao-huan* and *Li Hui-niang*. In these they insidiously attacked and insulted our great Party in an attempt to reverse the verdicts on the Right opportunist Peng Teh-huai and others dismissed from office at the Lushan Meeting and to incite people to join them in activities aimed at a counter-revolutionary restoration. At the same time, many plays and operas glorifying renegades, propagating capitulationism and advocating the philosophy of survival, such as *Yang Yen-hui Visits His Mother*, *Peach Blossom Fan* and *Li Hsiu-cheng*, appeared one after another. The situation in the cinema was even more striking. What a lot of poison was spread by films from those of the early post-liberation period, such as the *Inside Story of the Ching Court* and *The Life of Wu Hsun* down to the more recent *The Besieged City* and *Threshold of Spring!* They perpetrated every conceivable evil in vilifying the workers, peasants and soldiers and prettifying capitalism, feudalism and revisionism in order to glorify the capitalist road and carry out their scheme for a counter-revolutionary restoration. Moreover, in accordance with the wishes of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, they distorted the history of the Party, established China's Khrushchov as a hero on the screen and gave three cheers for Right opportunism.

Chairman Mao has pointed out, "it is a great invention to use novels to carry out anti-Party activities." This was exactly what the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists including Chou Yang did. Under their direction, a novel appeared which aimed at vindicating the notorious anti-Party element Kao Kang and which openly distorted history, directing an attack against the Party Central Committee headed by our great leader Chairman Mao.

However, these counter-revolutionary revisionists' conspiratorial activities aimed at a capitalist restoration could not escape exposure by the magic, monster-detecting mirror of Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art*. Therefore, this pack of ghosts and monsters extremely feared and hated the *Talks*. They used all manner of despicable means to spread such fallacious theories as "truthful writing", "writing about middle characters", opposition to "the smell of gunpowder" and "the merging of various trends as the spirit of the age" in order to attack this brilliant work of Chairman Mao's.

"Like mayflies trying to topple the giant tree, they ridiculously overrated themselves." All their attacks on Chairman Mao's brilliant work have long ago been utterly crushed by the criticisms contained in Chairman Mao's *Talks* itself. Led by Chairman Mao himself, the revolutionary masses who have mastered the powerful weapon of the *Talks* have launched repeated tit-for-tat struggles against the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and the reactionary academic "authorities".

As far back as 1951, Chairman Mao personally initiated and led the criticism and repudiation of the reactionary film *The Life of Wu Hsun*. In 1954, he again initiated and led the criticism and repudiation of the *Studies in "The Dream of the Red Chamber"* and the reactionary ideas of Hu Shih.

The struggle against the Hu Feng counter-revolutionary clique took place between 1954 and 1955, and since 1957 struggles have been carried out to repulse the Rightists, to oppose Right opportunism and to criticize Yang Hsien-chen's theory of "two combining into one" and Chou Ku-cheng's theory of "the merging of various trends as the spirit of the age".

At the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party, held in 1962, in particular, Chairman Mao issued the great, militant call to the entire Party and all the Chinese people "never to forget class struggle", and directed them to take a firm hold of the class struggle in the fields of ideology.

On two occasions in 1963 and 1964, Chairman Mao gave extremely important instructions concerning literary and art work, hitting hard at the sinister counter-revolutionary, revisionist line on literature and art represented by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. Following this, Comrade Chiang Ching, a most courageous fighter on the cultural front, responded enthusiastically to Chairman Mao's call and led vanguard fighters in the cultural revolution to mount an offensive against the

stage of art occupied by the lords of the exploiting classes. They broke through ring upon ring of repression and obstruction created by the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, and for the first time succeeded in making the heroic image of the real creators of history—the workers, peasants and soldiers—shine in splendour on the stage of Peking Opera, the ballet and symphonic music. The lords and ladies and their pampered sons and daughters who for so long have dominated the stage of art are beginning to be ousted. This reversal of history has been reversed. This is an illustrious milestone in the history of the proletarian cultural revolution. All the victories in these struggles are victories for the proletarian revolutionary line on literature and art represented by Chairman Mao, victories for this great work of Chairman Mao's.

Then came the moment for the proletariat to launch a general counter-offensive against the bourgeoisie.

In November 1965, the proletarian revolutionaries in Shanghai, resolutely carrying out Chairman Mao's instruction given at the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party, and led by Comrade Chiang Ching, launched the criticism and repudiation of *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office*, thus firing the first shot at the Peng Chen counter-revolutionary revisionist clique and sounding the clarion call for the great proletarian cultural revolution.

In February of the following year Comrade Chiang Ching was entrusted by Comrade Lin Piao to call the forum on literature and art in the armed forces. This was a highly important meeting in the history of China's struggle in the field of culture. As pointed out by Comrade Chiang Ching, the forum opened a fierce attack on the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and the reactionary bourgeois "authorities" who had monopolized the leadership in cultural circles for many long years.

The forum, presided over by Comrade Chiang Ching, adopted the "Summary of the Forum on Literature and Art in the Armed Forces". This Summary, revised by Chairman Mao himself on three occasions, gives an extremely penetrating and correct analysis of many fundamental questions concerning the struggle since liberation between the two lines on the literary and art front. Comrade Lin Piao has pointed out that the Summary "is a very good document which uses Mao Tse-tung's thought to answer many important questions concerning the cultural revolution during the socialist period. It not only has tremendous practical significance but has far-reaching and profound historical significance as well."

Soon afterwards, the great historic document—the May 16, 1966 Circular of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party—was drawn up under Chairman Mao's personal guidance. It put forward in a systematic way the theory, line, principles and policies of the great proletarian cultural revolution, shattering the "February Outline", a reac-

tionary programme for restoring capitalism knocked up by the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique represented by Peng Chen. It repulsed their counter-attack and threw them into confusion, and set in motion the great proletarian cultural revolution which swept the whole country.

Like an irresistible torrent, the revolutionary masses and revolutionary young Red Guard fighters armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought have charged straight into the "palaces of hell" ruled by the ghosts and monsters.

The old Propaganda Department of the Party Central Committee collapsed!

The old Ministry of Culture collapsed!

The old Peking Municipal Party Committee collapsed!

The handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, who used to be so arrogant and regard themselves as "important figures", may look like giants but in fact are only paper tigers that cannot withstand a single blow!

III

The acute struggle on the cultural front since the liberation of the whole country clearly shows that the struggle of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line on literature and art against the sinister counter-revolutionary revisionist line on literature and art is, in the last analysis, a struggle between the bourgeoisie which wants to restore capitalism and the proletariat which fights against it.

In the historical period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the mighty revolutionary cultural army is an important force in opposing a capitalist restoration and checking the spread of revisionism. It relies primarily on the people's army with guns to defend the dictatorship of the proletariat, but the cultural army is also indispensable. Like the Chinese People's Liberation Army, the cultural army, too, has the important task of defending the great dictatorship of the proletariat and the great socialist cause.

Today we must fully realize the important role the revolutionary cultural army plays in the struggle to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent the restoration of capitalism. Chairman Mao's *Talks* is the programme for the building of this mighty proletarian cultural army. We must use it to establish a correct orientation, build up our ranks and arm our fighters.

As the mighty proletarian cultural army forges ahead braving the winds and storms in the great proletarian cultural revolution, every one of our fighters is confronted with all sorts of questions. What road should the literary and art circles take? What is their fighting task at present? What are the principles and policies for literary and art work? The answers to all these questions can be found in Chairman Mao's *Talks*.

First, hold fast to Chairman Mao's orientation that literature and art must serve the workers, peas-

ants and soldiers, actively participate in the revolutionary mass campaign of criticism and repudiation, and fight to defend the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In his *Talks* Chairman Mao pointed out: "This question of 'for whom?' is fundamental; it is a question of principle." This is the question of orientation for literary and art work. Should literature and art serve the millions of workers, peasants and soldiers or a handful of exploiters? Should they serve the defence of the dictatorship of the proletariat or a handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists in their activities for capitalist restoration? This is the focal point of the struggle between Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line on literature and art and the sinister counter-revolutionary revisionist line. The struggle between the two lines in literary and art circles over the past 17 years has demonstrated in practice that the question of orientation remains the most fundamental one for the cultural circles, which have been controlled and influenced by the sinister counter-revolutionary revisionist line over a long period of time. Only when we have solved the question of the general orientation for literary and art work not only in theory but also in practice can we take a firm proletarian revolutionary stand and fight in defence of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in defence of socialism and against capitalist restoration.

The masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers are the real creators of history, the masters of socialist society. To serve the workers, peasants and soldiers means that the literary and art workers must go among the masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers. They must go into the heat of the struggle and "move their feet over to the side of the workers, peasants and soldiers, to the side of the proletariat", so as to transform thoroughly their thoughts and feelings and their world outlook in the three great revolutionary movements of the class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experimentation. They must become one with the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, and create the new literature and art of the proletariat. Only in this way can they really make literature and art powerful weapons for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and destroying the enemy.

The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists used double-dealing tactics to furiously oppose the orientation pointed out by Chairman Mao that literature and art must serve the workers, peasants and soldiers. To counter Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art, they put forward the slogan of "a literature and art of the whole people".

In 1962, on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the publication of the *Talks*, Chou Yang, Lin Mo-han and company put on a sham celebration and produced a big poisonous weed—the article "In the Service of the Broadest Masses of the People". In it, they maintained that literature and art should serve "the whole people", including bourgeois elements, and hoisted the reactionary evil flag of "literature and art of the whole people". They even openly declared that "socialist culture is a culture of the whole people".

Can proletarian literature and art serve the bourgeoisie? Can socialist culture be a culture of the whole people?

Absolutely not. Chairman Mao long ago denounced such absurd views in his *Talks*.

"A literature and art of the whole people" is nothing new; it is merely a duplication in the field of literature and art of Khrushchov's "state of the whole people" and "Party of the entire people". There is absolutely no such thing as a literature and art of the "whole people" in the world. Literature and art must be something which either serves the proletariat or the bourgeoisie. Chou Yang and Lin Mo-han's theory of "a literature and art of the whole people" is, in the guise of transcending classes, to oppose literature and art serving the workers, peasants and soldiers and proletarian politics, and to turn literature and art into a counter-revolutionary tool of capitalist restoration.

There is no construction without destruction. In the mass campaign to criticize and repudiate the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, we must smash their orientation of literature and art serving counter-revolutionary revisionism, and firmly establish our orientation of literature and art serving the workers, peasants and soldiers. We must use Chairman Mao's *Talks* as our weapon and take an active part in the mass movement of criticism and repudiation, to safeguard the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist state.

Secondly, organize the Left forces to do a good job of "struggle-criticism-transformation" in each unit.

Bourgeois rule in our cultural circles must not continue any longer. Proletarian revolutionaries must seize power in the leading organs, cultural organizations, art academies and schools in which the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists have been entrenched and which they have controlled for the past 17 years.

A mighty army of the proletarian cultural revolution must be organized, and in each unit strong Left forces be formed step by step in the course of the struggle. Proletarian revolutionaries should bring about a revolutionary great alliance in the course of the revolutionary mass movement of criticism and repudiation, coordinate their efforts in doing a good job of struggle-criticism-transformation in their own units, and direct the spearhead of struggle at the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, expose their crimes, wipe out their evil influence and completely refute, overthrow and discredit them!

Reactionary bourgeois scholar-tyrants and reactionary "authorities" should be thoroughly criticized and repudiated.

A new and truly revolutionary core leading the cultural forces should be established in all places where power needs to be seized.

In accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions in the *Talks*, all forces that can be united should be

united, the relationship between enemies, friends, and ourselves should be clearly distinguished, and a line of demarcation should be drawn between the two different types of contradictions. There are people who support the Party, socialism and Chairman Mao but have said or done something wrong, written works that are not good or acted in bad plays. However, so long as they dare to examine their own mistakes and gain a clear understanding of them, we proletarian revolutionaries should welcome and unite with these people and work with them in carrying out the struggle-criticism-transformation.

Thirdly, pay attention to creative work, establish good models and make great efforts to create new proletarian works.

Paying close attention to creative work is a key to overthrowing bourgeois literature and art and developing proletarian revolutionary literature and art. In the light of the new situation in the current great proletarian cultural revolution, generally speaking, all cultural units should carry on their own struggle-criticism-transformation, and at the same time create and produce modern, revolutionary works of literature and art which serve the workers, peasants and soldiers.

Creative works by workers, peasants and soldiers must be given serious attention and helped to develop. The fine works of literature and art springing up from among the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers are reflections of the new features of the epoch of our country's proletarian cultural revolution. All revolutionary literary and art workers ought to learn modestly from them.

In paying attention to creative work the most essential thing lies, in turn, in the establishing of fine models. Peking Operas with contemporary themes like *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold*, *On the Docks*, *The Red Lantern*, *Shachiapang* and *Raid on the White Tiger Regiment*; the revolutionary ballets *The Red Detachment of Women* and *The White-haired Girl*; and the symphonic music *Shachiapang* form a series of such fine models. They are new models of art shining with the splendour of Mao Tse-tung's thought. The appearance of these fine artistic models is a victory for Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line on literature and art.

The proletariat requires fine artistic works in which real revolutionary struggles are integrated with noble revolutionary ideals. Such fine works can be produced only by following the creative method advanced by Chairman Mao, that of combining revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism.

* "Struggle-criticism-transformation" is the abbreviation of the tasks set forth in the famous 16-point decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party concerning the cultural revolution, which states: at present, our objective is to struggle against and overthrow those persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road, to criticize and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, and to transform education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure not in correspondence with the socialist economic base, so as to facilitate the consolidation and development of the socialist system.

The blind worship of that which is ancient, foreign and revisionist and the habit of certain slavish worshippers who cannot open their mouths without quoting the ancient Greeks must be done away with. We have no faith in heaven, nor blind faith in that which is foreign, famous and ancient. We believe only in the workers, peasants and soldiers, the proletariat, Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. We must never have blind belief in ancient Peking Opera, films of the 1930's, French literature, England's Shakespeare, Russia's Belinsky, Chernyshevsky and Stanislavsky, and the revisionist Soviet Union's Sholokhov. We must critically take over those ancient things which are good and also critically assimilate those foreign things which are good. But in so doing, we must follow Chairman Mao's instructions of "making the old serve the present and the foreign serve China", and never allow ourselves to be misled by the exploiting classes' rubbish.

Anyone who looks down upon the labouring people and the proletariat, follows others blindly, and obsequiously complies with their wishes will never succeed. Our artistic treasures that shake the world are not *Swan Lake* copied from the bourgeoisie by westernized experts who were worshipped by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road like "gods", but our own revolutionary ballets, *The Red Detachment of Women* and *The White-haired Girl*. We did not intend these two ballets of ours for the whole world, but they have been warmly acclaimed by progressive people everywhere, who did not expect that this ancient art form gradually decaying in the western world would burst into new and youthful life in the East. The top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and their supporters called our artistic treasures "vulgar trash", treating the rubbish of foreign countries as almighty. Having received a bit of western education, they have forgotten their ancestors, and prate that "even the moon in foreign countries looks rounder". One wonders whether they have any sense of shame.

We should learn from the initiators and the vanguard fighters of the revolution in Peking Opera, ballet and symphony. The revolution in Peking Opera, ballet and symphony is the most difficult battle of storming strong fortresses on the literary and art front. They are the prologue to the unprecedented great proletarian cultural revolution. Difficulties are great and the struggle is hard. The bourgeoisie and those monsters and demons have incessantly attacked, slandered, and viciously persecuted the vanguard fighters on the literary and art front. But Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art* has inspired them. They have never become disheartened and have no fear of difficulty. In order to take the literary and art positions from the bourgeoisie, in order to defend Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art, the pioneers of the cultural revolution have, under the leadership of Comrade Chiang Ching, waged a long, uninterrupted and bitter struggle. After overcoming countless difficulties and obstacles, they have finally opened up a bright road in a desolate land, using the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung

as their weapon. Their revolutionary fighting spirit, which finds expression in their courage, perseverance and staunchness, has set an example for all cultural fighters. Now that our vanguard fighters have broken through such seemingly impregnable strongholds of literature and art as Peking Opera, ballet and symphony, is there any other stronghold of literature and art in the world that can't be broken through? Fighters of our mighty cultural army, hold high the banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and march forward courageously and with complete confidence!

Fourthly, open up mass literary and art criticism.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Literary and art criticism is one of the principal methods of struggle in the world of literature and art." In literary and art criticism, it is essential to adhere to the principle that political criterion must be put first and artistic criterion second. All reactionary ideas and works of literature and art that harm the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist revolution must be criticized and repudiated. In no circumstance should these poisonous weeds be allowed to spread unchecked to poison the minds of the people.

The handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and their supporters did their best to spread around an absurd argument about "harmless" works, saying that "whatever play relaxes and pleases the audience is good". Are there really any so-called "harmless" works in the world? No. Chairman Mao teaches us in the *Talks*: "In the world today all culture, all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines." One man's meat is another man's poison. How can there be any work of literature or art that is "harmless" to all classes? Hasn't enough harm been done to the labouring people, especially to the younger generation, by decadent bourgeois and revisionist works of literature and art? The purpose of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists in spreading this fallacy of "harmlessness" was to use it as a shield to prevent criticism by the masses so that all sorts of big anti-Party, anti-socialist poisonous weeds could be labelled "harmless" and sold to hundreds of millions of revolutionaries. Their aim was to lull the labouring people and poison their minds with such works of literature and art so as to carry out their scheme of peaceful evolution and capitalist restoration.

Moreover, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists resisted literary and art criticism by flaunting the banner of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend". They clamoured for "opening wide", saying that "there should be freedom to 'open wide'", that "all kinds of things should be tolerated and accepted", that "there should be free competition", that "there should be fewer restrictions", that "there should not be too much interference" and that "there should be no crudeness". They used such slogans to open the way for the proliferation of their poisonous weeds and create

public opinion for their conspiratorial activities for a bourgeois restoration.

They completely distorted Chairman Mao's policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend", and emasculated the class content of this great policy. "To let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" is the class policy of the proletariat and is aimed at consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and encouraging proletarian culture. In discussing this policy, Chairman Mao said: "We still have to wage a protracted struggle against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology. It is wrong not to understand this and to give up ideological struggle. All erroneous ideas, all poisonous weeds, all ghosts and monsters, must be subjected to criticism; in no circumstance should they be allowed to spread unchecked." He also said: "to 'open wide' means to let all people express their opinions freely, so that they dare to speak, dare to criticize and dare to debate". And by "opening wide", these revisionists actually meant bourgeois liberalization, which would allow only poisonous weeds to "open wide" but not fragrant flowers, and allow only Rightists to air their views but would not permit the Left to debate. This means a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over us, the proletariat, and this we will absolutely not allow! We will act in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions and eradicate all the poisonous weeds you have spread.

"Don't be crude?" Those who are really crude are no one but the bourgeois overlords. In places under their rule, not even a single new shoot belonging to the proletariat is allowed to grow. Is this not crude? No sooner do new things emerge than they want to wildly suppress, satirize, curse, repress, attack, encircle and strangle them, going to every extreme. Is there anything cruder than all this?

Precisely when a few models had been created during the Peking Opera revolution, the bourgeois overlords tried to suppress and sabotage them. Having failed, they indulged in all kinds of abuse, saying that "modern Peking Opera is as dull as plain water", that "it is nothing but modern drama plus singing". Aren't you ready to give up yet? Be so kind as to take out the best old Peking Operas and compare them with our models! Is there anything in the old Peking Opera that can compare with ours? Who after all act more beautifully—the workers, peasants and soldiers in our modern operas, or the lords and ladies and their pampered sons and daughters in the old Peking Opera? On the old Peking Opera stage, the emperors and kings, generals and ministers, scholars and beauties, are ugly through and through, from their soul to their appearance. Can they compare with the workers, peasants and soldiers on our stage? They cannot, neither politically nor ideologically, nor even artistically. Is there anything in our modern opera so loose, languid and dispirited as in the old Peking Opera?

The old Peking Opera was performed for 130 or 140 years, while we have put on the new ones for only three or four years. The three or four years of the new have defeated the 130 or 140 years of the

old. The revolution has hit you, the bourgeois lords, hard, and your arbitrary rule can no longer be maintained. So you foist the blame on us, alleging that we were crude. You have indeed turned black into white and right into wrong! You had better take back all this stuff!

The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists are most afraid of the masses' criticism and they curse our criticism, saying it is a "club". Chairman Mao says: "We should support whatever the enemy opposes." What they fear is precisely what we should encourage. We do, indeed, want to promote mass literary and art criticism. If this mass criticism is called a "club", then this is the proletariat's "steel club" and "gold club" especially for the purpose of beating the bourgeoisie and revisionism. It is very precious. And furthermore, we say to the bourgeois lords: this kind of "club" will be greatly strengthened through the great proletarian cultural revolution.

The line of placing sole reliance on "experts" in literary and art criticism must be smashed. It is utterly wrong to make literary and art criticism an "ivory tower" for intellectuals, something monopolized by a few people.

The weapon of literary and art criticism must be wielded by the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. Only when the hundreds of millions of workers, peasants and soldiers throughout the country are aroused to examine works of literature and art, can the real poisonous weeds be eradicated and the genuine fragrant flowers be protected. Only by arousing them to examine literary and art works, can the quality of the works be raised and creative activity in revolutionary literature and art flourish.

The unprecedented great proletarian cultural revolution has opened up a new era which will provide the best conditions for a vigorous development of proletarian literature and art. A new era of brilliant revolutionary culture has begun!

Let us arm ourselves with the brilliant works of our great leader, ceaselessly remould ourselves, closely follow Chairman Mao and the revolutionary worker, peasant and soldier masses, carry on uninterrupted revolution, always be revolutionaries. Let us defend the great dictatorship of the proletariat and build proletarian revolutionary culture, the most magnificent and resplendent culture in human history!

Let all reactionaries who try to go against the tide of history tremble before the great victories of the proletariat!

Long live the great proletarian cultural revolution!

Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat!

Long live the great Chinese Communist Party!

Long live the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung!

Long live the great leader Chairman Mao! A long, long life to Chairman Mao!

**Seminar Sponsored by Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau
to Commemorate the 25th Anniversary of Chairman Mao's
'Talks at the Yen'an Forum on Literature and Art'**

Milestone in the Afro-Asian Writers' Movement

THE first big international meeting on Chairman Mao's works—a seminar sponsored by the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau commemorating the 25th anniversary of Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yen'an Forum on Literature and Art*—was held May 31 to June 5 in Peking. It was a time of continuing victories in China's world-shaking proletarian cultural revolution. The proletarian revolutionaries and the revolutionary masses throughout China were enthusiastically celebrating the anniversary of this penetrating work of Chairman Mao.

On June 9, Chairman Mao, our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman, and his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Piao received the more than 80 writers and friends from 32 countries and regions on six continents who had taken part in the seminar. As Chairman Mao, who is the red sun in the hearts of the world's revolutionary people, walked briskly into the reception hall and smiled amidst rousing cheers, everyone waved their bright red *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, shouting again and again, "Long live Chairman Mao! Long, long life to Chairman Mao!" Eager hands stretched out toward the great leader. Chairman Mao and Comrade Lin Piao warmly shook hands with them one by one and posed for photographs with them.

Accompanying Chairman Mao and Comrade Lin Piao at the reception were other leading comrades of the Central Committee and the Cultural Revolution Group of the Central Committee, among them Comrades Chou En-lai, Chen Po-ta, Kang Sheng and Chiang Ching.

Thirty-four countries and regions were represented at the seminar. R. D. Senanayake, Secretary-General of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau, outlined the purpose of the seminar in his opening speech: "... to examine how best we can unite the cultural front and the military front in the liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings for winning national independence and people's democracy".

The seminar's success was a concrete illustration of the fact that the world's people are entering a new era in which Mao Tse-tung's thinking is the great banner. It will have a far-reaching impact on the efforts of the revolutionary people of the world to grasp and apply Mao Tse-tung's thought. It will encourage the revolutionary progressive writers of Asia, Africa and the rest of the world to forge ahead valiantly along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art.

The seminar was permeated with the love and respect which the revolutionary people of the world have for Chairman Mao, and it carried out its work in an atmosphere of revolutionary militancy and solidarity. More than 80 writers and friends spoke with deep enthusiasm and feeling, pointing out that of the thousands of ways to make revolution, to be proletarian revolutionaries, to develop revolutionary literature and art, the most essential is to try hard to study, grasp well and apply Mao Tse-tung's thinking. As the world enters the era of the leadership of Mao Tse-tung's thought, revolutionary progressive writers of all countries must take his thinking as their common fighting programme. In particular, they must use his *Talks at the Yen'an Forum on Literature and Art* as a weapon to make literature and art an integral part of the whole revolutionary machine. They must organize a mighty cultural army of the revolution and together with the oppressed and exploited worker and peasant masses of the world, overthrow the imperialists, modern revisionists and reactionaries of every country. In both the political arena and the cultural field in Asia, Africa and the rest of the world, they must reverse the absurd idea held for several thousand years that the feudal and bourgeois ruling classes are the motive forces in society. They must reverse this reversal of historical reality and restore the truth: that the people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history.

Leading comrades of the Party Central Committee, the Cultural Revolution Group of the Central Committee and other departments took part in the

closing ceremony. They included Comrades Chou En-lai, Chen Po-ta, Kang Sheng, Hsieh Fu-chih and Chiang Ching. Secretary-General Senanayake read the Message of Salute to Chairman Mao (see page 56) which had been previously adopted unanimously. When he handed it to Premier Chou En-lai to present to Chairman Mao, the hall rose in long and stormy applause. Facing the big portrait of Chairman Mao behind the rostrum, everyone cheered again and again: "Long live Chairman Mao! Long, long life to Chairman Mao!"

Premier Chou En-lai expressed his thanks to the seminar for entrusting him with this glorious task and promised to deliver the message to our great leader. The Premier said it was a militant message filled with great love for Chairman Mao, hatred for the enemy and confidence in the revolutionary cause.

"Comrades and friends," he told the delegates, "in face of imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries, let us unite, fight together and win victory together!" Congratulating the seminar on its success, he led them in shouting slogans: "U.S. imperialism will be defeated!" "British imperialism will be defeated!" "Soviet revisionists will be defeated!" "The reactionaries of all countries will be defeated!" "Vietnam will win!" "The Arab people will win!" "The Asian and African peoples will win!" "The world's revolutionary people will win!" "Long live the infinitely radiant thinking of Mao Tse-tung!" "Long live the great leader Chairman Mao — long, long life to him!"

A call to all revolutionary and progressive writers of Asia, Africa and the world to study Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* by

Message of Salute to Chairman Mao

Our Most Respected and Beloved Chairman Mao:

We, revolutionary, progressive and patriotic writers of Asia, Africa and the rest of the world, are assembled here in Peking, the capital of China — the great red bastion of world revolution, from May 31 to June 5, 1967, at a seminar sponsored by the Executive Secretariat of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau to commemorate the 25th anniversary of your *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*. At this seminar we have discussed the question as to the creative study and application of this great brilliant writing of yours in our struggles against imperialism led by the United States, against modern revisionism led by the Soviet leading clique, and against reaction of all countries.

Chairman Mao, the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our times,

We participants at this seminar express the following conviction:

the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau was adopted at the final plenary session of the seminar (see page 59).

At the closing ceremony, Secretary-General Senanayake announced that the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau had decided to hold the Third Afro-Asian Writers' Conference in Peking in November. Comrade Chi Pen-yu of the Party Central Committee's Cultural Revolution Group spoke on "Stride Forward Along Chairman Mao's Revolutionary Line on Literature and Art" (see page 62). It was announced that the Bureau had decided to issue badges with a portrait of Mao Tse-tung to the revolutionary progressive writers of Asia, Africa and the rest of the world in commemoration of the 25th anniversary of Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*.

Kuo Mo-jo, head of the Chinese writers' delegation, in his closing speech warmly saluted the success of the seminar on the study of Chairman Mao's works. He said, "We have concluded our seminar, but we have not come to the end of our study. After learning, it is imperative to apply what we have learned, to put it into practice. We must learn from Chairman Mao's spirit of putting things into practice if we want to be his good students. We must be men of action and not just idle talkers. We must promptly put what we have learned into practice and try hard to learn when we practise. This is the only way to learn and apply creatively."

At the end of the closing ceremony, the assembly of writers and friends from many lands sent repeated shouts ringing through the hall: "Long live Chairman Mao! Long, long life to Chairman Mao!" and sang "Rely on the Helmsman When Sailing the Seas".

Your *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* is of great worldwide epoch-making significance. It gives the revolutionary and progressive writers and artists of the world the most correct political guidance based on revolutionary Marxism-Leninism. In this brilliant writing, you have, creatively and with genius, developed the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and theory on literature and art. It is a most systematic, comprehensive and thoroughgoing programme of the great proletarian cultural revolution and the proletarian revolutionary line on literature and art. This great work of yours is also the beacon light guiding the Afro-Asian writers' movement and the cultural revolution of the people of the world.

Chairman Mao, our great helmsman,

In the *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* you have profoundly, systematically and successfully settled the question of the general orientation of literature and art, namely, literature and art



Chairman Mao warmly shakes hands with R. D. Senanayake (Ceylon), Secretary-General of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau.

in the service of the workers, peasants and people's armed forces.

We hold that, as you have pointed out, "This question of 'for whom?' is fundamental; it is a question of principle." Only when we are clear as to for whom our literature and art are produced, can we fulfil the historical and revolutionary task entrusted to us by the people of our respective countries and the world. Only thus can we become fighters on the cultural front fighting side by side with the fighters on the military front and, under the guidance of your correct thought, we will all point our pens and guns straight at the heart of the enemy of the people and revolution — imperialism, modern revisionism and reaction.

We consider that herein lies the demarcation line between proletarian and bourgeois literature and art, and this is also the focal point of struggle between the two lines on literature and art, the line of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung's thought and that of counter-revolutionary revisionism.

Chairman Mao, our great teacher,

You have taught us that literature and art in the service of the workers, peasants and people's armed forces means serving the requirements of their struggles and their fundamental interests. And we have fully realized that this can find concentrated expressions only through the politics inspired and guided by Mao Tse-tung's thought. We have full conviction in this great truth expounded by you, namely, "Literature and art are subordinate to poli-

tics, but in their turn exert a great influence on politics. Revolutionary literature and art are part of the whole revolutionary cause, they are cogs and wheels in it." Therefore, we consider that serving the workers, peasants and people's armed forces means serving their political struggles. We stand opposed to the scheme of the counter-revolutionaries and their spokesmen, the Soviet modern revisionists, to separate literature and art from politics. This is a deceptive scheme in view of the fact that they are using literature and art to help suppress the revolutionary people's struggles against imperialism, modern revisionism and reaction and that they are carrying out a criminal policy to oppose revolution and the revolutionary people. They have been vociferously trumpeting about "humanitarian" literature and art. As a matter of fact, however, they have been producing non-humanitarian literature and art and submitting to non-humanitarian persons and their inhuman acts, and this is what the counter-revolutionary writers and artists in the Soviet Union have been doing. As you have rightly pointed out: "In class society there is only human nature of a class character; there is no human nature above classes." There simply does not exist "humanitarianism" above classes. Our own experience proves that the liberation of the people and the overthrow of the reactionary rule can only be achieved through armed struggles. This is in conformity with your teaching that "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun". We should precisely use our pens to promote revolutionary armed struggles. Our literature and art should function as

charcoal and faggots to kindle the flames of armed struggles.

Our most beloved and respected Chairman Mao,

In accordance with your instruction that literature and art should serve the workers, peasants and people's armed forces, we revolutionary writers and artists must resolutely adopt the revolutionary political stand of Mao Tse-tung's thought, heartily extol the people, extol the workers, peasants and people's armed forces and their revolutionary struggles, and mercilessly expose the evil features and the crimes of the enemies of the people—imperialism, modern revisionism and reaction. Proceeding from this stand, revolutionary writers and artists should produce works that will arouse the people and the workers, peasants and people's armed forces to crush their enemies. We should use our works to help the workers, peasants and people's armed forces become convinced that imperialism, modern revisionism and reaction are all "paper tigers" which can certainly be defeated by the mighty strength of the masses of the revolutionary people. Such works which we produce under the inspiration and guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought should function as "powerful weapons for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and destroying the enemy".

Chairman Mao, our great leader,

We have witnessed the great role which your *Talks at the Yen'an Forum on Literature and Art* has played in guiding the great proletarian cultural revolution now going on in China. This earth-shaking great proletarian cultural revolution is uprooting revisionism, overthrowing reactionaries and persons in authority taking the capitalist road, thus preventing the restoration of capitalism and ensuring that socialist China, the powerful bastion of world revolution, will never change its political colour. It has made the imperialists, modern revisionists and reactionaries tremble with mortal fear. To the revolutionary peoples of Asia, Africa and the whole world, however, it is an immense source of inspiration enhancing their spirit to fight and to rebel, to smash the shackles of oppression and exploitation and win a bright future.

We have seen how the Chinese revolutionary literary and art workers armed by the *Talks at the Yen'an Forum on Literature and Art* have, with remarkable success, created such works as the ballets *The White-haired Girl* and *Red Detachment of Women*, the Peking Opera *The Red Lantern*, the symphony *Shachiapang* and the novel *The Song of Ouyang Hai*. These works are the models in applying Mao Tse-tung's thought in literary and artistic creation. By your own poetry, Chairman Mao, you have furnished us with clear examples in literary and artistic creation.

In these works we can clearly see how literature and art are harmoniously integrated with politics. This represents a great victory of Mao Tse-tung's

thought and the fruit of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

We hold that, precisely as you have pointed out, in order to create literature and art serving the workers, peasants and people's armed forces, revolutionary writers and artists must wholeheartedly go among them, study Mao Tse-tung's thought in the heat of the struggles, study society, remould themselves and gradually shift their stand "to the side of the workers, peasants and soldiers". We believe that a change in one's world outlook is the key to a correct solution of the problem of whom literature and art should serve.

Chairman Mao, helmsman of revolution,

Your line on literature and art is a thoroughgoing revolutionary line. With this line, you have charted the sole correct path for the development of revolutionary literature and art. The 25 years' history since your *Talks at the Yen'an Forum on Literature and Art* has proved that as long as we adhere to the orientation indicated by you, we will promote the thriving development of revolutionary literature and art and the movement of the revolutionary writers and artists, and our literary and artistic creation will function as a powerful weapon to prepare public opinion, pave the way ideologically for the revolutionary struggles, win national liberation and consolidate the fruits of revolution.

Through studying Mao Tse-tung's thought, we express our deep respect and gratitude for you from the bottom of our hearts. Our gratitude will be all the more significant when we truly apply your great teachings to our daily work and struggle.

Finally, we wish to say that Mao Tse-tung's thought is a powerful ideological weapon in opposing imperialism, modern revisionism and reaction. Inspired and guided by Mao Tse-tung's thought, the movement of revolutionary writers and artists, and the Afro-Asian writers' movement in particular, will certainly achieve the sacred objective of serving the revolutionary peoples of Asia, Africa and the whole world and their revolutionary struggles. We place all hopes on you, Chairman Mao, for leading our revolutionary struggles. We pledge ourselves always to study and follow your teachings. We are confident that any deviation from your teachings will bring defeat and darkness, while adherence to your teachings will bring success and brightness.

Long live the great, radiant thought of Mao Tse-tung which shines for ever brightly!

Glory to the Communist Party of China! Glory to the Chinese people!

Long live the People's Republic of China, the great red bastion of world revolution!

Long live the *Talks at the Yen'an Forum on Literature and Art*!

Long live the world-shaking great proletarian cultural revolution!

Long live the everlasting solidarity of the Afro-Asian peoples in opposing imperialism, revisionism and reaction!

May the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau advance from victory to victory under the inspiration and guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought!

Finally, we wish Chairman Mao, the great teacher, great helmsman, great leader, great revolutionary, great poet, and the very red sun which

shines most brightly in the hearts of the revolutionary people of the world, a long, long life!

Seminar Held by the Executive Secretariat of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau to Commemorate the 25th Anniversary of Chairman Mao's "Talks at the Yen'an Forum on Literature and Art"

June 5, 1967, Peking

Study Chairman Mao's 'Talks at the Yen'an Forum on Literature and Art'!

(Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau's Call to All Revolutionary and Progressive Writers of Asia, Africa and the World)

June 5, 1967

Revolutionary and Progressive Writers of Asia, Africa and the World,

The red flag is fluttering in the winds and the thunders are echoing in the sky. At a time when the great proletarian cultural revolution in China has scored great victories, the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau has invited friends from 34 countries and regions of the world to hold a grand seminar in Peking, the heart of world revolution, to commemorate the 25th anniversary of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's brilliant *Talks at the Yen'an Forum on Literature and Art*. This seminar has amply demonstrated our deepest respect and regard for Chairman Mao, the great leader of the revolutionary people of the world and the very red sun that shines most brightly in our hearts; it has given expression to our common pledge to remain for ever true to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line on literature and art.

Chairman Mao's *Talks* is an epoch-making, great Marxist-Leninist work. It is the most comprehensive, thoroughgoing, correct and revolutionary proletarian programme on literature and art in the history of mankind. It is a powerful ideological weapon of the revolutionaries to transform the subjective world and the objective world in the image of the proletariat. It is the bugle call for the oppressed nations and oppressed peoples of the world in their great political and ideological struggles against imperialism, modern revisionism and all reactionaries.

During the Chinese people's war of resistance to Japanese imperialist aggression and the subsequent war of liberation, this great work guided the broad masses of revolutionary literary and art workers in joining the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and in making literature and art a powerful weapon to be used in coordination with the revolutionary

armed forces in the seizure of political power, thereby performing a meritorious service in the struggles to destroy the ferocious Japanese aggressors and overthrow the tyranny of the Chiang Kai-shek regime. And now in the unprecedented, great proletarian cultural revolution, this great work has become the fighting programme of the broad masses of Chinese workers, peasants and soldiers and young Red Guards in destroying all old ideas, culture, customs and habits. This great revolution marks an entirely new stage in the development of Marxism. It is sweeping away all filth and sludge in society and has uprooted the counter-revolutionary revisionist sinister line on literature and art lurking in China's literary and art circles, and shattered the pipe dream for a capitalist restoration on the part of a handful of top persons in authority in the Chinese Communist Party taking the capitalist road. It has immensely consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat in China and hence the base area of world revolution. This constitutes a powerful support to the liberation struggles of the oppressed nations and world revolution. It has dealt a fatal blow to U.S.-led imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, modern revisionism with the leading clique of the C.P.S.U. as its centre, and all reaction. These earth-shaking great victories have eloquently proved that the people armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought are invincible and that nothing can block their advance.

The *Talks* penetratingly points out that the fundamental orientation for proletarian literature and art is to serve the workers, peasants and soldiers. [Note: By soldiers it is meant armed people's forces.] The broad masses of workers and peasants constitute the overwhelming majority of the population and possess the greatest strength. They create and defend the material and spiritual wealth of human society with diligence and wisdom, and are hence the real masters of the world. However, under the dictatorship of



Chairman Mao, the loved and respected leader of the world's revolutionary people, his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Biao, and other leading Party comrades with writers and friends from every continent at the seminar sponsored by the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau in commemoration of the 25th anniversary of Chairman Mao's Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art.

the exploiting classes they are consigned to the very bottom of society and made to lead a miserable life even worse than that of the draught animals. They nourish the deepest hatred for the exploiting classes and are most militant. They are the main force of the revolution. Literature and art serving the workers, peasants and soldiers means serving the fundamental interests of the masses of workers and peasants, serving their revolutionary struggles to seize political power and to consolidate it thereafter; and in Asia, Africa and Latin America today, this means primarily serving the revolutionary struggles and the people's revolutionary wars against imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction.

U.S. imperialism is the sworn enemy of the peoples of Asia, Africa and the whole world. Everywhere it fosters reactionary forces and carries out wanton plunder, ruthless persecution and sanguinary suppression. In Vietnam, U.S. imperialism is frantically massacring revolutionary people, expanding its war of aggression and making new grave escalations in the war. In Palestine and the Middle East, it is busily sharpening swords in league with its accomplices, and is using Israel — a dagger which it has planted in the heart of the Arab world — to carry out armed provocations and war threats against the Arab people. In the Congo (K), Indonesia and other parts of the world, it has incurred heavy debts of blood.

The Soviet modern revisionists are the No. 1 accomplices of U.S. imperialism. In a further betrayal of the revolutionary cause of the people of the world, they are using every possible means to sabotage the revolutionary struggles of the people of the world and national-liberation movements, and are servilely serving the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war. Moreover, they are frantically carrying out cultural infiltration against the peoples of Asia, Africa and the rest of the world, using utterly reactionary, decadent revisionist literature

and art to poison and benumb the revolutionary people, and spreading the notion that exploitation is no crime and rebellion is not justified, attempting thereby to subjugate the revolutionary people spiritually. This is something we absolutely cannot tolerate.

Where there is oppression, there rebellion is bound to break out. And the crueller the oppression, the stiffer the rebellion. Under the illumination of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the revolutionary situation in the world today is excellent. Asia, Africa and Latin America have become the storm centre of world revolution. The oppressed peoples there are taking up arms and are advancing wave upon wave in heroic battles, and the raging flames of the national-liberation movements are burning on the continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Like mad bulls crashing into a ring of flames and getting badly burnt, the imperialists, modern revisionists and reactionaries of all countries are frantically putting up a last-ditch fight.

Chairman Mao says, "To defeat the enemy we must rely primarily on the army with guns. But this army alone is not enough; we must also have a cultural army, which is absolutely indispensable for uniting our own ranks and defeating the enemy." For the complete victory of world revolution and the complete liberation of the whole of mankind, it is imperative to create a revolutionary cultural army which will coordinate with the revolutionary military front to crush the enemy's armed suppression and cultural aggression. Accordingly, the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau makes the following fighting call to all the revolutionary and progressive writers of Asia, Africa and the world:

We must all make great efforts to study Chairman Mao's great works, including his Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art and his profound revolutionary poetry. In doing so we must have a feeling of deep respect for Chairman Mao and a burning desire to seek truth and victory of revolu-

tion. We must carry on this study in the storms of class struggle and in the flames of national-liberation struggles; we must study conscientiously and do so over and over again; we must study and apply what we have studied in a creative way and combine study with practice. Let us emulate the pathbreakers in China's great cultural revolution by taking Mao Tse-tung's thought as the compass guiding all our actions, by impressing it firmly in our minds, infusing it into our blood and translating it into our actions.

We must, in accordance with the Talks, hold high the revolutionary banner of criticism and mobilize millions upon millions of people to launch a fierce offensive, by speech and writing, on the imperialist, revisionist and reactionary literature and art, tearing off all their disguises, thoroughly exposing such stuff as "humanitarianism", "literature and art of the whole people", "art for art's sake", literature of the traitors, decadent and yellow literature and art, denouncing their criminal aim of deceiving the people and poisoning their minds, so as to enable the masses of the people to understand that U.S. imperialist cultural aggression and the Soviet revisionists' counter-revolutionary line on literature and art are in the service of their reactionary political aim of enslaving the people of the world. Revolutionary and progressive writers of Asia, Africa and the world, let us unite with the peoples of the whole world and emulate the merciless spirit towards the enemy displayed by the late Lu Hsun, the most valiant fighter on the front of revolutionary culture, and use the massive cudgel of Mao Tse-tung's thought to deal resolute and devastating blows to U.S. imperialism, Soviet modern revisionism, all reactionaries, and their running dogs. We should, in the process of criticism and struggle, organize and train a mighty revolutionary cultural army and develop a revolutionary, national new literature and art, an anti-imperialist and anti-revisionist literature and art of the masses of the people.

We must creatively study and apply the Talks as well as Chairman Mao's other writings, and take

his poetry as a model in integrating revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism. We must hold high the red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought on literature and art, follow the examples of the revolutionary new literature and art born in the storms of China's great proletarian cultural revolution and make literature and art serve the current revolutionary struggles of the people of various countries and serve the workers, peasants and people's armed forces; we must transform literature and art into daggers, lances, drums and bugles; we must enthusiastically extol the revolutionary struggles of the people and depict the noble characters of the revolutionary heroes; we must relentlessly expose the enemy's ferocity and brutality and his weakness; we must expose the cultural aggression and infiltration by imperialism and modern revisionism; we must loudly proclaim the slogan: "It is no crime to make revolution and rebellion is justified"; we must help awaken more and more workers and peasants to take up swords and guns and join the battle arrays; we must inspire more fighters to make bold charges against the enemy; we must see to it that the flames of battle blaze ever higher and that there are more tidings of victories; and we must reverse the reversal of history.

We must firmly bear in mind this teaching of our great leader Chairman Mao: "In the final analysis, the dividing line between revolutionary intellectuals and non-revolutionary or counter-revolutionary intellectuals is whether or not they are willing to integrate themselves with the workers and peasants and actually do so." We must make up our mind to go to the factories, to the countryside and to the smoking battlefield, to share weal and woe and fight shoulder to shoulder with the masses of workers and peasants. Let us intensify our hatred against the enemy and deepen our feelings for the workers and peasants in the course of the fierce hand-to-hand battles between the revolutionary classes and the reactionary classes. And after protracted and arduous

tempering, we will gradually shift our standpoint over to the side of the masses of workers and peasants, the side of the proletariat, truly hate what the workers and peasants hate, and love what they love. We will stand in the forefront of the struggle, raise the most powerful voice of the time, create outstanding heroic characters of the masses of workers and peasants and people's armed forces, characters whom the Afro-Asian peoples will appreciate, thereby opening a brilliant new era of revolutionary Afro-Asian literature and art.

Revolutionary and progressive writers of Asia, Africa and the world, the world is entering a new era in which Mao Tse-tung's thought is the great banner. Chairman Mao Tse-tung is the greatest supreme commander of the revolutionary people of the world in their revolutionary struggles. The *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* is the beacon light for all revolutionary people of the world, and the revolutionary and progressive writers in particular. It is the guide of their action and the bugle call for their combat. With this work, we can find our bearings in any bad weather; with this work, we can hold ground in the worst tempest; with this work, we will gain increased revolutionary wisdom, courage to fight and strength to work miracles. We will certainly study this work with great effort, carry it out faithfully, propagate it enthusiastically, and

Stride Forward Along Chairman Mao's Revolutionary Line on Literature and Art

— Excerpts from a Speech Made at the Closing Ceremony of the Seminar —

CHI PEN-YU

THE success of this seminar is a concrete manifestation of the fact that the people of the world are entering a completely new era in which Mao Tse-tung's thought is its great banner. It marks the entry into a new stage of the Afro-Asian writers' movement, and shows that Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and theories on literature and art are becoming a powerful ideological weapon for the people of the world in their fight against imperialism, modern revisionism and world reaction.

This meeting has fully demonstrated the love of the revolutionary people of the world for their great leader Chairman Mao and the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung.

China is one of the countries in the Afro-Asian region. The Asian and African people's today is China's yesterday; the Chinese people have suffered enough of the miseries of oppression and exploitation from which the Afro-Asian peoples are suffering today. We Chinese people are most concerned about the Afro-Asian people's cause of national liberation

and defend it courageously. Following the revolutionary road indicated by our great supreme commander Chairman Mao, and facing a very bright future, let us courageously march on and on!

Our seminar in commemoration of the 25th anniversary of the *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* has laid the ideological basis for the Third Afro-Asian Writers' Conference to be held in Peking, capital of China. The Third Conference will hold even higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and push the movement of studying Chairman Mao's works to a higher stage. It will be a militant conference and a conference of unity and victory, which will use the incomparably mighty weapon of Mao Tse-tung's thought to further mobilize and organize the revolutionary and progressive Afro-Asian writers and people to combat U.S.-led imperialism, modern revisionism with the leading clique of the C.P.S.U. as its centre and all reaction. We are firmly convinced that under the infinitely bright radiance of Mao Tse-tung's thought and through our common efforts, the Third Conference will certainly be a success.

The sun is breaking through. Revolutionary and progressive writers and heroic peoples of Asia, Africa and the world, fight still more valiantly! Victory will surely belong to us!

and the people's revolution. In order to occupy this vast intermediate zone in the Afro-Asian region, U.S. imperialism is carrying out large-scale cultural aggression parallel with its military aggression.

The Soviet revisionist clique is an accomplice of the imperialist aggressors. Under the disguise of "sympathy" and "aid", they are intensively carrying out cultural infiltration, peddling the literature of traitors and advocating capitulationism in the Afro-Asian region, thus helping the imperialists to suppress and sabotage the Afro-Asian people's revolutionary movement. They are sheer hypocrites with honey on their lips and murder in their hearts.

Under such circumstances, a task of the first importance confronting the Afro-Asian progressive writers is to use Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*, an infinitely powerful ideological weapon, to combat imperialist cultural aggression, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries.

Chairman Mao teaches us that a tit-for-tat struggle must be waged in dealing with the enemy. It is necessary to use revolutionary dual tactics to counter-attack the enemy's counter-revolutionary dual tactics. The enemy has the fronts of the pen and of the gun, therefore, the revolutionary people must also establish the fronts of the pen and of the gun.

We must first of all build up and strengthen a people's army and rely on this people's army with guns, if we want to defeat the imperialists and the reactionaries of all countries. The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution But this army alone is not enough; we must also have a cultural army, which is absolutely indispensable for uniting our own ranks and defeating the enemy. For the Afro-Asian region, such an army is one of the powerful instruments both for seizing political power and for smashing imperialist cultural aggression.

Some Japanese revolutionary writers have already gone into action. Surmounting all kinds of obstacles, they have gone to mountain villages and to factories and mines to learn from the peasants and workers, and write revolutionary scripts. This is a very happy beginning.

From this we can see that Chairman Mao's *Yenan Talks* is not only a programme for building up China's proletarian cultural army but also a programme by which the Asian and African peoples can establish their cultural armies. It clearly points out the fundamental orientation and the fighting tasks for the Afro-Asian literary and art workers.

The Afro-Asian region is the birthplace of world culture. Owing to imperialist aggression, it has lagged behind during the past century or more. But the Asian and African peoples have now awakened and are waging vigorous revolutionary struggles. We are convinced that a new era of a progressive, brilliant culture of the Afro-Asian peoples will surely emerge from the midst of the raging flames of their struggle for national liberation and of the people's revolution!

The *Yenan Talks* was born in the storm and stress of the struggle for national liberation. China was then at the most difficult time in the War of Resistance Against Japan; it was also the time when our Party was combating Wang Ming's Right opportunism and unfolding the great rectification movement. After the beginning of the War of Resistance Against Japan, breaking through the heavy blockade lines, large numbers of patriotic and revolutionary intellectuals came to Yen-an, the mecca of revolution. To undermine the people's War of Resistance Against Japan, the Kuomintang reactionaries also sent a handful of spies and Trotskyites to sneak into Yen-an and, in collusion with a handful of anti-Party elements and renegades, to stir up a reactionary adverse current on the cultural front in coordination with the military attacks of the Japanese aggressors and Chiang Kai-shek. A very sharp question was thus put before the literary and art workers: should literature and art serve the struggle for national liberation and people's liberation or should they serve the reac-

tionaries who undermined the War of Resistance and tried to betray the country and capitulate? Should they serve the revolution or counter-revolution?

It was at this very time that our great leader Chairman Mao convened in Yen-an a forum on literature and art, at which he delivered the historic, epoch-making talks. In the talks, on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, Chairman Mao developed, creatively and with genius, the Marxist-Leninist theory on literature and art and thereby formulated a most comprehensive, systematic and correct proletarian revolutionary line on literature and art for the fighting proletariat.

In this brilliant work Chairman Mao first of all raised and solved the question of the relationship between literature and art on the one hand and politics on the other. Chairman Mao pointed out that **proletarian literature and art are part of the whole proletarian revolutionary cause. Revolutionary literary and art forces are an army for winning national liberation and the people's liberation and for seizing political power.** Chairman Mao said, "In our struggle for the liberation of the Chinese people there are various fronts, among which there are the fronts of the pen and of the gun, the cultural and the military fronts. To defeat the enemy we must rely primarily on the army with guns. But this army alone is not enough; we must also have a cultural army, which is absolutely indispensable for uniting our own ranks and defeating the enemy." Proletarian literature and art "operate as powerful weapons for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and destroying the enemy".

In order to fundamentally solve the question of the relationship between literature and art and politics, Chairman Mao has pointed out in his *Talks* that it is necessary first to solve the problem of the class stand of the literary and art workers. Revolutionary literary and art workers must keep to the stand of the proletariat and the masses of the people, expose the enemy's cruelty and deception and point out the inevitability of his defeat. They must extol the diligence and struggle of the people and not ridicule or be hostile to their shortcomings and errors. Instead, they should help them to fight these shortcomings and errors and to unite and make progress, and strengthen their confidence in the victory of their struggle.

On the basis of the solution of the problem of class stand, Chairman Mao raised the fundamental question of the orientation of literature and art, namely, that literature and art must serve the workers, peasants and soldiers and serve proletarian politics. Chairman Mao called on literary and art workers to go among the masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers, learn from them, bring about a thorough change in world outlook and "move their feet over to the side of the workers, peasants and soldiers, to the side of the proletariat". Chairman Mao said: "If our writers and artists who come from the intelligentsia want their works to be well received by the masses, they must change and remould their thinking and their feelings. Without such a change, without

This symphonic work, belonging to the proletariat and other labouring people, warmly sings the praises of Chairman Mao's thinking on people's war. The orchestra successfully combines with chorus and solo voices and makes creative use of Chinese national instruments.



visionists fear that under the impact of China's great proletarian cultural revolution, the people under their rule will grasp the weapon of the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, rise in rebellion against them and drive them out of office. Therefore, they do not hesitate to resort to all sorts of base means to smear and attack Chairman Mao. Is this not true? Well then, Brezhnev, Kosygin and company! Do you have the courage to publish the writings of Chairman Mao and the editorials and documents concerning China's great proletarian cultural revolution and let the Soviet people know the whole truth of this revolution? Do you have the courage to let the Soviet people criticize you with full airing of their views, big-character posters and great debates as weapons?

In hurling attacks and abuses at the great leader Chairman Mao, the Soviet revisionists cannot in the least tarnish the resplendence of the great thought of Mao Tse-tung.

The imperialist and revisionist overlords are making such ridiculous statements as "You have destroyed the traditional culture" and "adopted a sectarian attitude of contempt for the world's cultural achievements". These are purely virulent slanders against China's great proletarian cultural revolution.

We have always adopted an analytical attitude towards past culture and foreign culture. Chairman Mao teaches us: "We must take over all the fine things in our literary and artistic heritage, critically assimilate whatever is beneficial, and use them as examples when we create works out of the literary and artistic raw materials in the life of the people of our own time and place. It makes a difference whether or not we have such examples, the difference between crudeness and refinement, between roughness and polish, between a low and high level, and between slower and faster work. Therefore, we must on no account reject the legacies of the ancients and the foreigners or refuse to learn from them, even though they are the works of the feudal or bourgeois classes. But taking over legacies and using them as examples must never replace our own creative work; nothing can do that." Chairman Mao also teaches us: "It is imperative to separate the fine old culture of the people which had a more or less democratic and revolutionary character from all the decadence of the old feudal ruling class."

Following Chairman Mao's instructions, we critically inherit what is revolutionary, progressive and excellent in the traditional culture, that is, we absorb the quintessence; on the other hand, we criticize and do away with what is decadent, backward and reactionary in it, we discard the dregs. With regard to decadent, backward, reactionary feudal and capitalist culture, i.e., the dregs of "traditional culture", we will get rid of them completely. Unless they are got rid of, capitalism will be restored, revisionism will spread unchecked and the revolutionary cause of the proletariat will fail. Without their destruction, it is impossible to build up a proletarian revolutionary new culture.

Critically inheriting the traditional culture is, in Chairman Mao's words, "to make the old serve

the present". Facts have proved that only by critical inheritance can we remove the impediments to our progress, absorb what is useful to us and create a brand-new culture of the people. Was not the old Peking Opera already on the decline? But under the personal leadership of Comrade Chiang Ching, the pathbreakers of China's proletarian cultural revolution have given a vigorous new life to this declining Peking Opera and created fine models of Peking Opera on contemporary themes by implementing the principle of making the old serve the present.

This fully demonstrates that Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art, and this line alone, truly defends all that is best in traditional culture.

It is not we, either, but the imperialists and modern revisionists, who "take a sectarian attitude of contempt for the cultural achievements of the world". Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, is the peak of the cultural achievements of the world. The imperialists, however, have banned its propagation while the modern revisionists are distorting, adulterating and emasculating it, and have prevented the distribution of the works of the great Marxist-Leninist Stalin by locking them up. They have rejected not only the revolutionary teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Chairman Mao but also the dialectics and materialism of the past. Is this respect for the cultural achievements of the world?

It is precisely China, slanderously accused by the imperialists and modern revisionists of "sectarianism", that genuinely respects the cultural achievements of the world. Chairman Mao has taught us: "To nourish her own culture China needs to assimilate a good deal of foreign progressive culture, . . . we should assimilate whatever is useful to us today . . . for example, from the culture of the various capitalist countries in the age of enlightenment. However, we should not gulp any of this foreign material down uncritically, but must treat it as we do our food — first chewing it, then submitting it to the working of the stomach and intestines with their juices and secretions, and separating it into nutriment to be absorbed and waste matter to be discarded — before it can nourish us." Chairman Mao also says: "As for foreign culture, it would be a wrong policy to shut it out, rather we should as far as possible draw on what is progressive in it for use in the development of China's new culture."

In accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings, the Chinese people modestly learn and critically absorb what is progressive in foreign culture. Another group of cultural revolutionary fighters, under the leadership of Comrade Chiang Ching, have transformed the long-standing foreign ballet and symphonic music and produced such brilliant treasures of art as the ballets *Red Detachment of Women* and *The White-haired Girl* and the symphony *Shachiapang*. Are these not eloquent proof?

The imperialists and modern revisionists, in one voice, attack our great proletarian cultural revolution as being intended to "knock down all intellectuals". This is sheer slander. Intellectuals belong to different



THE WHITE-HAIRED GIRL: Bitter flames of hatred burst from the White-haired Girl (Hsi-er), a poor peasant family girl, when she again sees her persecutors, the despotic landlord and his henchman.



RED DETACHMENT OF WOMEN: Fighters of the Red Detachment of Women drill and get ready to wipe out the landlord's armed thugs.

such remoulding, they can do nothing well and will be misfits."

Creatively applying and developing the Marxist theory of knowledge, Chairman Mao gave a penetrating analysis of the relationship between source and stream in literature and art. He pointed out: **The life of the people is the only source of literature and art. The literary and artistic works of ancient times and of foreign countries are not a source but a stream. Taking over literary and artistic works of the past and using them as examples must never replace our own creative work. Writers and artists of promise must go among the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, go to the only source, the broadest and richest source, and create genuine revolutionary literary and artistic works.**

Chairman Mao has pointed out the orientation of literary and art criticism of the proletariat and set forth the principle of **putting the political criterion first and the artistic criterion second.**

After the publication of this brilliant work by Chairman Mao, the revolutionary literary and art workers, guided by this revolutionary line on literature and art, had the objectives of their struggle clearly in mind. They found the correct orientation, liquidated the influence of Wang Ming's Right opportunism and turned back the anti-Party adverse current whipped up by a handful of anti-Party elements, Trotskyites and traitors. Acting in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions, many fine literary and art workers served the War of Resistance Against Japan and the War of Liberation with literature and art as their weapons and tempered themselves into staunch revolutionary fighters in the flames of national liberation and people's liberation.

After the proletariat seizes political power, the overthrown exploiting classes will by no means be reconciled to their doom. Relying on their extensive international contacts, on the spontaneous trend of small production towards capitalism and on the positions they still occupy in culture, art, philosophy, law and other sections in the ideological realm, they will make desperate efforts for a come-back.

Lenin said, **"The transition from capitalism to communism takes an entire historical epoch. Until this epoch has terminated, the exploiters inevitably cherish the hope of restoration, and this hope is converted into attempts at restoration. And after their first serious defeat, the overthrown exploiters — who had not expected their overthrow, never believed it possible, never conceded the thought of it — throw themselves with energy grown tenfold, with furious passion and hatred grown a hundredfold, into the battle for the recovery of the 'paradise', of which they have been deprived, on behalf of their families, who had been leading such a sweet and easy life and whom now the 'common herd' is condemning to ruin and destitution (or to 'common' labour . . .)."**

In order to defeat the class enemy's activities for a counter-revolutionary restoration, the proletariat must use the dictatorship of the proletariat to fight against him. In this struggle between restoration and counter-restoration under the conditions of the dic-

tatorship of the proletariat, ideology comes to be the forefront. The revolutionary and counter-revolutionary forces clash first of all on the ideological front. Drawing historical lessons from the Soviet Union and some east European countries and summing up the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat at home and abroad, Chairman Mao personally initiated and led the movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

China's great proletarian cultural revolution is a great revolution carried out under the dictatorship of the proletariat by arousing hundreds of millions of the masses to practise proletarian mass democracy, i.e., full airing of views, big-character posters and great debates. It is a great revolution of arousing the masses with the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung to liberate themselves. This great revolution is a major decisive battle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist and capitalist roads. One of the great historic contributions made by this great revolution is that a handful of top persons in authority taking the capitalist road who entrenched themselves in key departments of the Party Central Committee have been dragged out, and the Party, government, financial and cultural power usurped by them has been recovered and thus their scheme for a capitalist restoration has been smashed.

China's great proletarian cultural revolution has greatly developed Marxism-Leninism. It has revealed the entirely new universal truth: in socialist society and during the entire historical period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, class struggle by no means dies out but continues to develop in depth with the struggle between restoration and counter-restoration as its main content; revolution does not end but goes on in a new form.

Chairman Mao's thesis on the great cultural revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat has pointed out the orientation for the international communist movement and serves as a beacon lighting up the way for the proletariat of all countries in their struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism.

The revolutionary people all over the world warmly acclaim China's great proletarian cultural revolution, but the U.S. and British imperialist and the Soviet revisionist overlords are frightened out of their wits by this world-shaking revolution because they see in its irresistible torrent their inevitable doom. Picking up the rotten weapons of the German fascist, Goebbels, they resort to making all kinds of slanders and vilifications against China's great proletarian cultural revolution.

It must be stated in particular that in this wild chorus of abuse, the Soviet revisionist clique play a most despicable role. Their vile attacks on Chairman Mao testify all the more to the greatness and correctness of Chairman Mao — the Lenin of the present era. Chairman Mao, the great helmsman of the proletarian revolution, who has pointed out the orientation and road for the Chinese revolution, is also recognized by the revolutionary people under the rule of modern revisionism as the one who has pointed out the orientation and road for their revolution. The modern re-



THE WHITE-HAIRED GIRL

A revolutionary ballet on a contemporary theme which portrays how the Chinese peasants, under the leadership of the Communist Party, carry on a heroic struggle against the landlord class until their final liberation.

Upper left: Wang Ta-chun leads a detachment of the Eighth Route Army to the front. Hsi-er and other villagers join the ranks, determined to carry the revolution through to the end.

Upper right: Wang Ta-chun, Eighth Route Army soldier, finds his fiancée Hsi-er in a cave and tells her the good news of their village's liberation.



RED DETACHMENT OF WOMEN

A revolutionary ballet on a contemporary theme which portrays how a maidservant in a landlord's house, educated by the Chinese Communist Party, grows into a proletarian revolutionary fighter.

Wu Ching-hua, the maidservant, in joining the Red Army, angrily accuses the despotic landlord of his crimes in persecuting her.



SHACHIAPANG

— A revolutionary symphony with a contemporary theme

Veteran revolutionary Granny Sha denounces the national traitors who threaten to take her life if she does not own up to her part in saving the wounded soldiers of the people's forces.



毛主席说：我们的文学艺术都是为人民大众的，首先是为工农兵的，为工农兵而创作，为工农兵所利用的。

《在延安文艺座谈会上的讲话》

Text below woodcut:

Chairman Mao says: All our literature and art are for the masses of the people, and in the first place for the workers, peasants and soldiers; they are created for the workers, peasants and soldiers and are for their use.

— 'Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art'

classes and take different political stands. There is one category composed of proletarian intellectuals who have accepted Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, and integrated themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers. They are a force at the core of the great proletarian cultural revolution. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, we must energetically train intellectuals of this category. Another category of intellectuals is those who have not undergone a basic or an adequate change in their world outlook, but who are in the main patriotic and support the Party and socialism. These two categories constitute the overwhelming majority of the intellectuals. There is still another category of intellectuals who are counter-revolutionary revisionists, who are traitorous, reactionary and stubbornly persisting in taking the capitalist road. They are only a small handful. It is only this handful of reactionary intellectuals opposing communism and the people that we want to knock down in the great proletarian cultural revolution. . . . If these anti-Party, anti-socialist reactionary intellectuals are not hit hard, pulled down and completely discredited, then capitalist restoration like that carried out by the Soviet revisionist leading clique will occur and our socialist cause will be harmed.

Our Party has always attached importance to revolutionary intellectuals. Chairman Mao has always taught us: **"Without revolutionary intellectuals the revolution cannot triumph"** and that **"it is an important and indeed an essential policy to win over all progressive intellectuals and bring them under the influence of the Party"**. China's great proletarian cultural revolution has unfolded precisely with the warm support and active participation of tens of millions of revolutionary intellectuals. The purpose of the great proletarian cultural revolution is to form a mighty army of Left-wing revolutionary intellectuals with Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought to fulfil the great and glorious task of socialist revolution.

We have always strictly adhered to policy in dealing with the question of intellectuals in general. Following our great leader Chairman Mao's teachings, a strict distinction is also made between the two different types of contradictions, and great efforts are made to prevent contradictions among the people being handled as contradictions between ourselves and the enemy. With regard to the intellectuals who came over from the old society, we have always adopted the policy of unity, education and remoulding. As to bourgeois scholars in general, so long as they do not oppose the Party, socialism, communism and the people, we provide them with suitable working conditions and let them continuously remould their world outlook in the process of their work. As for those who have had shortcomings or mistakes of one kind or another, they are accepted by the masses so long as they correct their mistakes.

The imperialists and modern revisionists slander our great proletarian cultural revolution as intending to "throw the elite of the intelligentsia of the country into deep misery". This is the most shameless slander. What "elite"? By "elite" they mean counter-

revolutionary revisionists and cultural special agents such as Hsia Yen, Tien Han, Wu Han, Teng To and their like.

"You have no freedom of speech, no democracy." This is another slander by the imperialists and modern revisionists against China's great proletarian cultural revolution.

Chairman Mao says: **"Freedom and democracy do not exist in the abstract, only in the concrete. In a society rent by class struggle, if there is freedom for the exploiting classes to exploit the working people, there is no freedom for the working people not to be exploited, and if there is democracy for the bourgeoisie, there is no democracy for the proletariat and other working people."**

In China, a country under the dictatorship of the proletariat, there is no freedom or democracy for the landlords, rich peasants, the counter-revolutionaries and bad elements and the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists who have been dragged out. Whereas for the workers, peasants and soldiers and the revolutionary masses, they enjoy freedom and democracy to the fullest extent. The great proletarian cultural revolution in China led by our great supreme commander Chairman Mao is itself mass democracy and freedom under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Hundreds of millions of the revolutionary masses dare to put forth opinions, make criticisms, hold debates and put up big-character posters.

We would like to ask the imperialists and revisionists, has any one of your countries witnessed such democracy and freedom as enjoyed by the Chinese people? Do they exist in the United States? No. In Britain? No. Do the Soviet revisionists give such democracy and freedom to their people? Likewise no. If the imperialist and modern revisionist overlords had allowed the people to enjoy such freedom and democracy as enjoyed by the Chinese people, they would have been done for long ago.

The imperialist and modern revisionist overlords slanderously accuse our great proletarian cultural revolution of "xenophobia". We would ask: What foreign things are we against? We always adopt a friendly attitude towards the people of the world. We warmly welcome people from any country who come to China for friendly visits, although their thinking and customs may be different from ours. We give strong support to the struggle of the oppressed nations and oppressed peoples of the world for liberation. And as for our proletarian revolutionary comrades-in-arms, we not only extend a sincere welcome to them but will fight shoulder to shoulder with them against imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction.

But if this "xenophobia" means struggle against the imperialists, revisionists and special agents who endanger the cause of the Chinese revolution, then we have swept them away and will sweep them away lock, stock and barrel like clearing away a garbage heap. Such "xenophobia" is excellent! If we do not have this "xenophobia" against the imperialists and modern revisionists, they will bully us.



MAO TSE-TUNG

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